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THE HISTORY OF
LOWER
TIDEWATER VIRGINIA

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(Courtesy Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce)

PORTSMOUTH—AIR VIEW

THE HISTORY OF LOWER TIDEWATER VIRGINIA

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Author and Editor

*Non est propheta sine honore
nisi in patria sua.*

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VOLUME II

LEWIS HISTORICAL PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
NEW YORK
1959

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1959



VOLUME TWO

PART THREE

Chapter XVII

The Town of Portsmouth

1752-1858

By *Floyd McKnight*

AS NOTED IN a previous chapter, the town of Portsmouth came into being in 1752. The history of its site—in the southwest angle formed by the Elizabeth River and its Southern Branch—prior to that year has been given elsewhere in these pages. It might be appropriate, however, to review some facts about the owners of the land.

One of the early landowners here was Captain William Carver, mariner, who in 1664 received a grant of land where Portsmouth now stands. He later became a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses and a leader in the short-lived but bitter Bacon's Rebellion. In the early deeds he was styled a mariner, but later was called a merchant. He was, among his other attainments, surveyor of the Southern and Eastern Branches of the Elizabeth River. His son, Richard Carver, owned land at Lambert's Point.

But above all, William Carver was an early American patriot at heart. It was his zeal for the interests of the colonists, combined with his innate love of liberty, that led him to join with Nathaniel Bacon in 1676, a century before such patriotism became the mode of the day. After burning Jamestown, Bacon pressed the best available ship into service on the James River to drive off smaller ships which opposed his effort. He thoroughly trusted Carver, according to the accounts or Bacon's own secretary, Edward Good. In fact, he trusted Carver more than his own close associate and lieutenant named Bland. It was with such feelings that he sent Carver to Accomack to capture Governor Berkeley, who was to be sent to England as a prisoner and tried before the King for his treatment of the King's subjects in Virginia. But when Bacon died and the rebellion collapsed, Carver went to the Governor as an emissary on Berkeley's written pledge of safe conduct, which Berkeley broke. Instead, Berkeley secretly sent forces to seize Carver's ship in the river—a betrayal made possible only by the fact that Bland had played traitor to Bacon's cause and joined with the Governor's supporter, Larramore. The result was that both Bland and Carver were put in irons and three days later were hanged.

Thus came the end of the first owner of this site, whose lands were for-

feited to the English Crown because of his alleged treason. Portions of these lands, with additional land bringing the total figure to 1,129 acres, were granted in 1716 to Lieutenant Colonel William Craford,* a wealthy merchant and ship owner, who was at different periods presiding justice of the Norfolk County Court, the county's high sheriff and a member of the House of Burgesses, as well as lieutenant colonel in command of the county militia. He was also a lot-owner in Norfolk Town, and grandson of William Craford, Gent., of Plymouth, who died in Norfolk County in 1700.

It was Colonel Craford who, in 1752, set aside approximately 65 acres of his plantation as a little town, which he named Portsmouth, after the great English port of this name. Dividing the property into half-acre lots, he set aside the four corners of High and Court streets for a church, a market, a court house and a jail respectively. Gershom Nimmo, Norfolk County surveyor, made the original map of the area, and this map is still extant. To the north the town was bounded by Craford's Bay, according to this map; to the east by the Elizabeth River; to the south by Crab Creek; and to the west by Dinwiddie Street.

In 1752 the town acquired municipal existence through an Act of Assembly establishing the Town of Portsmouth. This act recited that William Craford had lately laid out land south of the Elizabeth River, opposite Norfolk, into 122 lots and streets, with places for a court house, a market and a public landing. Because of the heavy toll of fires, against which no adequate protection yet existed, the building of wooden chimneys, which caused many of the fires, was forbidden. As laid out in the Act of Establishment, the town was bounded on the east and north by the Elizabeth River, extending to the north side of South Street and Crab Creek on the south. The western border was the east side of Dinwiddie Street. Craford Street, at first called Main Street, was the last street on the eastern side extending along the river. Next to it was Middle Street, named because of its position. North Street was first called Ferry Street, because the Norfolk Ferry operated from the end of it, where the Seaboard warehouses now stand. Columbia Street was called Crabbe Street through the nineteenth century.

The founder himself lived ten years after the beginning of the Town of Portsmouth. At his death in 1762 he left most of his lands, including the unsold town lots, to George and Thomas Veale. In 1763, the year after Craford's death, the lands of Thomas Veale were annexed to Portsmouth, extending the western boundary to Chestnut Street. In that same year town trustees were provided for by an Act of Assembly, and those named were Thomas Veale, Charles Stewart, Humphrey Roberts, David Purcell, Francis Miller, Andrew Sprowle, James Rae and Amos Etheridge. Sprowle had

* Alias Crafford, modernly Crawford (its original pronunciation).

purchased from Thomas Bustin the land that became Gosport under his guidance, and he was an early leader of commerce and industry. Among Sprowle's creations were several industries and the marine yard which eventually grew into the famous U. S. Naval Shipyard. The English Government considered Sprowle's shipyard in a convenient place for a navy agent, and named him to this post. Sprowle held that assignment until the outbreak of the American Revolution. In 1776 Gosport was partially burned, and at the same time a furious mob burned Sprowle's house. Both Sprowle himself and the Governor, one of whose intimates he was, had left Portsmouth together. In 1784 Sprowle's property was officially forfeited, and the General Assembly named three commissioners to sell the land and lay out Gosport in conformity with the already well-established portions of Portsmouth. The sale proceeded unsatisfactorily, since many of the purchasers lived elsewhere and did not keep their contracts.

Meanwhile, the Portsmouth community suffered heavily from the ravages of war and revolution. Sprowle's Gosport shipyard had prospered and flourished, and had been used by British Navy ships as well as by merchant vessels. Sprowle, a Scotsman and a Tory in both sympathy and economic interest, saw the American ports of Portsmouth and Gosport as akin to the similar naval ports of the same names in England. Portsmouth (in Hampshire, England) contained a Royal Dockyard (Naval Shipyard) as early as 1540, exactly opposite the town of Gosport at the entrance to the Harbor. In Gosport there was a Naval Hospital, a gunboat slipway, Naval Barracks and Naval Storehouses.* After having taken refuge with Lord Dunmore, Sprowle died in 1776.

As early as October, 1775, Dunmore had captured all arms in the Portsmouth area and publicly boasted that Norfolk was defenseless. On November 7 he declared martial law and offered freedom to all slaves who would take up arms for the King. On December 9, 1775, he attacked the American militia and was defeated at the battle of Great Bridge, after which he withdrew his forces to the British Fleet anchorage in the Elizabeth River. On January 1, 1776, he opened fire on the Borough of Norfolk with his own naval guns and partially burned it, as has been detailed in another place.

During that period many Portsmouth homes were also burned, as well as some public buildings. Gosport suffered a like fate. Buildings that were not burned were often taken over for use as barracks for the Loyalist Militia during the occupation by the English. Under Major General Charles Lee, American troops then occupied Portsmouth, from which they kept watch upon Lord Dunmore and his forces, who had taken up a position west of the town. Evacuating this position in May, 1776, Dunmore and his men sailed

* 22 EncBrit 132, 12 EncBrit 267-8.

out of the Elizabeth River to occupy Gwinn's Island, in Matthews County. He was driven from that place, too, in July, 1776, and finally sought refuge in New York.

Mill Point, a property belonging to Robert Tucker, Jr., was taken over in 1776 by American troops, who built Fort Nelson on that site. The fort was named after Thomas Nelson, Jr., a member of the House of Burgesses. Later it became unnecessary when Fort Monroe was built, and in 1828 the famous Naval Hospital was built there. In May, 1779, Portsmouth was invaded by the English under General Matthewes. Arriving in the fleet of Admiral Sir George Collier, they entered the Elizabeth River and took possession of Fort Nelson, which the Americans had failed in their attempt to destroy. There followed the burning of the Gosport shipyard by the British. Admiral Collier wrote in his official report to the Admiralty that Gosport Yard was "the most considerable one in America, and that in addition to great stores of timber destroyed, many fine ships of war were burned on the stocks." The English then conducted raids nearby, burned the town of Suffolk, and returned by sea to New York.

By October, 1780, Portsmouth again was an object of British attack—this time by General Leslie and his British army, who landed in an effort to establish contact with Lord Cornwallis in the Carolinas. Their stay was brief, because they soon sailed for Charleston. In December, 1780, Brigadier General Benedict Arnold entered the Virginia Capes, conducted raids along the James River and occupied Portsmouth with his English troops. He established headquarters at the northwest corner of High and Middle streets, in the home of Patrick Robinson, and used the old sugar-house at the south end of Craford Street as a barracks and prison. He was soon joined by Major General Phillips, and the two together planned and effected a series of fortifications in and near Portsmouth. Surviving British maps show their locations along Washington Street.

In July, 1781, Lord Cornwallis came with his army to join with the troops at Portsmouth, and in August they left for Yorktown, where Cornwallis surrendered in October. Portsmouth was left reduced and broken by war, with many of her people in want of homes, food and employment. They nevertheless turned their spirits to the task of rebuilding. In a petition to the General Assembly, dated May 31, 1783, thirty-nine local property owners declared that they "laboured under many inconveniencies for want of some internal policy to be governed by," and requested that the Town Trustees be empowered to levy an annual tax to cover public improvements, regulate markets and remove nuisances. The Assembly later in the year complied with these requests, and authorized a market-house which was built in High Street. Norfolk was just recovering from the ravages of war, and Portsmouth for a time made a bid for a position as the major port of Virginia and also

tried to extend her trade with North Carolina. With a view to attracting merchants from Baltimore, Philadelphia and other places to the town, citizens addressed another appeal to the Assembly in quest of a more extensive waterfront. An Act of 1784 accordingly authorized subdivision of Gosport lands into lots and the sale of these lots to the public, retaining only the shipyard tract as state property. A later act of that year annexed Gosport to Portsmouth, and in 1789 a bridge was built at the south end of Craford Street to connect the two places.

British acts prevented American trading with the West Indies. But British vessels landed in the Elizabeth River, loaded merchandise and grew rich at the expense of local citizens. Angered by lack of retaliation, they petitioned the Assembly in 1785 for redress, writing that "we find ourselves excluded from any share in the carrying business, which if not speedily redressed must shortly end in a total loss of that valuable branch of mechanics, shipbuilding, and want of nursery for seamen, the great bulwark of maritime powers . . . When we cast our eye over our harbours we see there scarcely a flag, but of that Nation, which so lately displayed them in these very harbours, with intentions the most hostile and diabolical, this too at a time when not a vessel belonging to the United States, even in distress, is permitted to enter any of the ports or harbours in the British West India Islands."

Local maritime interests were unable to overcome this miserable plight, however, for more than a decade. In 1790 Portsmouth had about 300 houses and a population of 1,700. Of these, 1,039 were white, 616 were slaves and 47 were free Negroes. In 1794 Congress authorized construction of six frigates because of war with the Barbary States. These were the *United States*, *Constitution*, *President*, *Congress*, *Constellation* and *Chesapeake*. One of these ships was built in Gosport Shipyard, which was lent to the War Department for the purpose. The Navy Department did not come into separate being until 1798. In 1801 the Federal Government paid Virginia \$12,660 for the sixteen acres of land then in the Navy Yard, which passed into Federal hands. Commodore Richard Dale, Portsmouth Revolutionary hero, and John Paul Jones's lieutenant, became the Yard's first Federal Commandant. The Gosport-built vessel, the *Chesapeake*, was one of the finest in the early Navy, but her encounter with the British frigate *Leopard* off the Capes in 1807 was one of the causes leading to the War of 1812.

In 1795 a sale of land was conducted, this time by lottery, and \$490 came in as a result and was applied to the building of a road to Deep Creek and a causeway between Portsmouth and Gosport. In December, 1800, local citizens petitioned the Assembly to remove the county seat of justice from the Town of Washington, now Berkley (a part of Norfolk), to the Town of Portsmouth. An act authorizing this removal was adopted in 1801, but

Portsmouth did not become the actual county seat until a new court house was built. The building was completed in 1803 at the northeast corner of High and Court streets. The jail occupied the corner on the opposite side of Court Street, where the Court House now stands. The present Court House was completed there in 1846.

The Town of Portsmouth, with Gosport Navy Yard, narrowly escaped capture again by the British in the War of 1812, when a large British landing force was defeated at the battle of Craney Island. The harbor had been blockaded from February, 1813, by a squadron under Admiral Sir John B. Warren, who with 2,600 troops under Brigadier General Sir Sydney Beckwith made an attack in June of that year upon the barren island which guarded Portsmouth at the mouth of the Elizabeth. State militia, regulars and some seamen from the frigate *Constellation* defended the island. They numbered, in all, about 750 men under command of Brigadier General Robert B. Taylor of Norfolk. The Portsmouth Light Artillery, later known as Grimes Battery, took a leading role in the battle under command of Captain Arthur Emmer-son, of Portsmouth.

From the very beginning of its history, Portsmouth shared one circumstance with the other Hampton Roads communities—namely, its ties with the sea for trade, for defense, for its very lifeblood. The salt streams and inlets, the larger and smaller rivers, the great bay and lesser bays constituting the harbor of Hampton Roads, and the wide open sea leading to or inviting commerce and conquest: These were important to the Indians in times gone by, as to those earliest adventurers—Captain Christopher Newport, Captain John Smith and hosts of others who were their contemporaries or followed them in history's procession, and became responsible for establishing British civilization and culture on American shores.

Norfolk, established as a town in June, 1680, was early an eminent port in the West Indies trade; and gradually Portsmouth came to participate in this busy commerce. From its establishment as a town in 1752, its waters were dotted with sailing ships and all manner of seagoing and inland water craft. Portsmouth and Norfolk together have always enjoyed a magnificent harbor. Surrounding waters were filled with vessels which brought in needed supplies to merchants who, like those of Norfolk, were mostly of Scottish origin. After complete destruction of Norfolk Borough by Lord Dunmore's fleet, which avenged his defeat at Great Bridge, Portsmouth gained some advantage through being left free to carry on some essential business.

The dislocations of that period were vexing but relatively brief; for Norfolk rebuilt as quickly as possible. By 1796 Portsmouth had 300 houses and 1,700 inhabitants. Ten years later, in 1806, it had increased these figures to 400 houses and 3,000 inhabitants. By the beginning of the nineteenth century a vigorous trade had developed with the Antilles. Portsmouth had

two shipyards; Norfolk, four. And in 1801 the United States Navy Yard was established on the Southern branch of the Elizabeth River, at Gosport. The establishment of the county court at Portsmouth also helped to increase the community's importance, while the opening of the Dismal Swamp Canal, largely through George Washington's continuing efforts* improved trade activity in the entire Hampton Roads area. The opening of vast forest lands brought a strong revival of the lumber industry and strengthened the naval stores business around 1828 and 1829 and in the years that followed. The success of those trades aided in promoting a general trade revival. By 1835 there were more square-rigged vessels in the waters of this region than at any time after 1820. Another indication of the commercial improvement came January 19, 1834, with the chartering of the Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad Company. Norfolk had subscribed \$60,000 for 1,200 shares on April 3, and on December 4, 1833, an additional \$40,000 for 800 more shares—a total of \$100,000—a fact which was the more remarkable in view of the fact that the terminus was in Portsmouth, not Norfolk. This is matter that has been discussed previously.

Thus the earlier rivalries between different communities were gradually giving way to co-operative effort as a broader understanding of the common interest developed. After the air had been cleared in the War of 1812, peace and prosperity brought better relationships, even with England, the traditional enemy. Many of Britain's merchant vessels, engaged in the West Indies trade, were constantly tied up at local docks, loading and unloading their great cargoes of commerce, without attempting, as of old, to expel all others from similar pursuits. The Navigation Law of May, 1820, had stopped British goods from entering American ports and American goods in return from going to British ports. That measure had sharply cut into the West Indies trade and caused a general dulling down of business and a tightening of money. By 1826 the Non-Intercourse laws further served to bring trade between the United States and Britain to a standstill. But in 1828, even during that depression period, work began on the building of the drydock at United States Navy Yard. It was only gradually that the ill feeling and distrust between England and America sufficiently abated to permit resumption of ordinary trade relationships. And with this trade resumption healthier business and social conditions returned.

Building operations increased. In 1827 the Naval Hospital was built near old Fort Nelson, on the Portsmouth side of Hampton Roads. The drydock was already in process of erection. The 1820s, in addition to bringing commercial troubles with England, were a time of domestic storm and stress, including a great gale which in 1821 swept away the drawbridge over the

* See Chapter XXIV.

Eastern Branch and seriously interfered with shipping. In February, 1823, the great fire in Market Square, Norfolk, was a cause of upset throughout the area. But the late 1820s and the 1830s were a time of recuperation and improvement. In 1836 the Town Trustees received authority to pave, grade and light the streets of Portsmouth, as well as to regulate the construction



(Courtesy Library and Museum Norfolk Naval Shipyard)

PORTSMOUTH—NAVAL HOSPITAL, THE NAVY'S OLDEST, BUILT IN 1827,
PHOTOGRAPHED IN 1875

of wharves and a Town Hall and to purchase land from public savings for important civic projects. On June 8, 1836, a new almshouse was sanctioned. On September 15, 1836, Portsmouth participated in Norfolk Borough's celebration of the centennial of its incorporation.

In 1831 Water Street was laid out by act of Assembly, running from one end of the town to the other and measuring 40 feet in width. In 1839 many town lots were sold on this new street. The east side of First Street had by that time become lined with docks and warehouses, owned mainly by the families of Dickson, Young and Coxe, who also had built fine brick homes on the same street. First Street remained important until about 1840, when it began declining. At that time Crawford Street (as it was now spelled) became a favorite residential center in Portsmouth proper, while its lower portion was given over to shops and businesses. Some of Portsmouth's fine early houses had been destroyed by fire and wind in the 1820s, and rebuilding

in the ensuing decades was designed along more substantial proportions. Houses in the main followed the style of their English counterparts.

No record of all Portsmouth's famous visitors is easily obtainable; so many of them came and went without fanfare of any kind. But General Lafayette's sojourn in the town in 1824 was royally hailed, not only in



(Courtesy Library and Museum Norfolk Naval Shipyard)

PORTSMOUTH—CRAWFORD HOUSE ERECTED IN 1835, CITY'S FIRST HOTEL

Portsmouth but in all the surrounding communities. In 1833 President Andrew Jackson and his entire Cabinet came for the opening of the drydock. Henry Clay was a visitor in 1844.

Like other communities in Virginia, Portsmouth worshipped with a few exceptions in the faith of the Anglican communion until the Revolution. Port Norfolk was the glebe of Portsmouth Parish until that time, then was confiscated along with the other glebes by the State of Virginia. It was on this glebe property that the British landed when they captured Portsmouth in 1779. Troops marched thence to Scott's Creek, crossed it, and made their entry to Fort Nelson from the rear while a collier was bombarding the fort from the water. Here, too, on the old glebe land, was the historic Glebe School, the original site of which later became a playground for colored children. Deep woods surrounded the old glebe; the old Glebe House faced

the river at what is now the southeast corner of Mount Vernon Avenue and the Boulevard, and on the land here rose immense shade trees and a few pomegranates.

Early suburban trends were evident in such communities as Waterview, embracing Dale's Point, the birthplace of Richard Dale and the site of his grandfather's farm; Glensheallah, a part of the old Herbert property, owned by Beverly Bayton, then by his grandson, Beverly Armistead, who developed it into a fine community; and Deep Creek, a still older district.

Life in the old days of Portsmouth is hard for the modern mind to imagine. The larger picture was one of water covered with ships, graceful with white sails. Every ship entering the harbor fired a cannon—a practice which continued until relatively recent times. The last shipping company to give it up was the Old Dominion Line, plying between New York and Norfolk. Leading sports were horse racing and cockfighting. An old advertisement read: "Elizabeth River Parish challenges any other parish or county, to fight a main of cocks at any time in the ensuing month, for several hundred dollars. Joel Cornick—At the Gardens." Hampton cocks were accepted fighters in this brisk sport of old. Hayward's, at Lambert's Point, and the Strawberry Banks, at Hampton, were great cockfighting resorts.

"Their Mecca on this side of the river was the Edwards farm, especially toward the middle of the last century. In later days these mains were opened to the public at large. The owner of this farm, Mr. John Edwards, was a character in the town. He lived alone and lived as he pleased, accepting no rule of life but his own will. He was a man of splendid physique, and well dressed in the style of a former day, wearing ruffled shirts of fine linen, high stocks and trousers fitting close to the calves of his legs, and buttoned from knee to ankle, giving the appearance of knee breeches. His bow was a model of courtesy and his manners most agreeable, but his vocabulary of oaths was inexhaustible. In fact, his conversation was so interlarded with profanity that it required courage to converse with him. The gentlemen of the community met at Mr. Edwards' for their cockfights, and when the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia was in Norfolk in 1877, Mr. Edwards arranged a main of cocks for his special pleasure. So enthusiastic was the royal visitor over the sport that his host slapped him on the back and called him a 'good sport,' and afterwards named the two streets that he was cutting through his property, 'Cossack' and 'Muscovite,' in honor of the Grand Duke."

The provider of this brilliant hospitality, Mr. Edwards, wrote a will filled with ribaldry, ridicule and nonsense as his life approached its end, making generous bequests, stipulating a funeral at 3 A.M., with no services, and with burial under an old tree on the premises by eight able-bodied colored men replacing the customary pallbearers. These colored men were to be stuffed

* Mildred M. Holladay's *History of Portsmouth*.

afterward at a banquet. Familiars of Mr. Edwards and, as it may be imagined, a host of others gathered to celebrate the occasion when it came. A great crowd appeared late at the Edwards house, many of them young dandies of their day; and one person who attempted to utter a prayer at the grave was mobbed. Cockfighting was then taboo, except on the quiet, and it may be assumed that the sport was freely enjoyed on that last night of John Edwards' hospitality.

With the appearance of more prosaic times, the old Edwards property was given over to streets, lots and marine barracks. But sport did not depend alone upon men of John Edwards' stamp. There was a Portsmouth Cricket Club at an early date, as well as a Portsmouth Quoit Club. Sack racing and rat-baiting were available for the rougher element. The socialites of earlier times had their cotillions, balls and assemblies. Drinane's Coffee House was a center for these activities. Later they took place in Maupin's Hall, built on the same site. A very elaborate ball of which some record remains was the Centenary Ball at Oxford Hall in February, 1852, celebrating 100 years of Portsmouth's official life as a town.

The early wars and Revolutionary period were, of course, a deterrent to educational and cultural life. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the glebe lands of the old Established Church had been sold by the State of Virginia, provision was made that the money received from this source should be turned over to funds for education of the poor. Educational funds were further augmented by sale of the Marine Hospital, at Washington Point (Berkley), to the United States Government by the State in 1799, proceeds from that sale being divided between Portsmouth and Norfolk. In Portsmouth the use of it was for education of the poor, and the money was placed in the hands of "school commissioners." In 1843, after many abuses, the commissioners decreed that they would pay for no child's education unless the matter was specifically approved by them.

In 1843 the Odd Fellows' Order started a school, providing a teacher to teach 100 pupils at the same time. The tuition per student was \$1.25, and the lodge supplied books and necessary materials. This old Odd Fellows' School was really the parent of the public school system. An Act of Assembly in 1845 established "free schools" in Norfolk County and Portsmouth, the fund for this purpose being divided on the basis of population and turned over in Portsmouth to the commissioners to handle. In 1846 the old Portsmouth Academy, incorporated in 1825 and operating from 1827 onward as a military school, was ordered to be sold; and two years later, in 1848, full control of the Free Schools was turned over to a board elected to manage them. School buildings were built at that time, although churches and other structures were used temporarily pending completion of these new schools.

The first school building was completed in Newtown, just off Fourth

Street, at its intersection with Wythe, near the site of the present Friends' School, in 1850. The new school system took over the old "Academy" at Glasgow Street, near Middle Street. In 1855 this school was used to house plague-stricken refugees from Gosport, where yellow fever had struck with a special vengeance, killing hundreds. Portsmouth was a heavy sufferer from that horrible epidemic, which ravaged the entire Hampton Roads area. The



PORTSMOUTH—PORTSMOUTH PARISH CHURCH (1762)
NOW TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Academy later became an orphan asylum, and in 1861 was converted into a barracks. The Federal forces took over at that time when the Confederates evacuated. As for the general school system, it was started on a meager allotment and was inadequate in any modern sense of the term. In the county, outside Portsmouth, matters were more difficult still. At Wallaceton one pupil walked three miles to school each day.

It was in 1815 that the small side-wheeler *Washington* puffed up the Elizabeth and local people wondered at their first steamboat. But, of course, years passed before steam power replaced the old sails in this picturesque harbor. In 1820, a year after incorporation of the Town of Portsmouth, the Navy Yard launched its first ship-of-the-line, the 74-gun *Delaware*.

In 1832 the trustees of the Town of Portsmouth were authorized to prohibit burial of the dead within the town limits. At the same time au-

thority was granted for purchase of a four-acre tract adjoining the town's northwestern limits, on Effingham Street, for use for this purpose. This tract subsequently became Cedar Grove Cemetery.

Portsmouth's oldest church, Trinity Protestant Episcopal, was built in 1762 as the parish church of Portsmouth Parish, which had been set up a year earlier, when the original Elizabeth River Parish had been subdivided. This structure was several times rebuilt and remodeled, but it still stands at High and Court streets, on the half-acre lot donated by William Craford for the purpose. The second oldest church, Monumental Methodist, was founded in 1772, and it is the oldest Methodist Church in the South, though not independent from the Episcopal Church until 1784. The Portsmouth Baptist Church (now Court Street Baptist) was founded in 1789; the Fourth Street Baptist Church was founded in 1855. Other important churches in the city are: St. Paul's Roman Catholic, St. John's Episcopal, and First Presbyterian.

In 1836 Portsmouth sought and received legislative authority to regulate the building of wharves, to establish a "hospital in a retired situation and to remove thereto persons infected with the smallpox or other contagious disease," and to erect a magazine "in a remote situation" and name its keeper, requiring everyone to deposit all powder in his possession in excess of a certain quantity to be fixed by ordinance.

Portsmouth's journalistic interests started early, though in the first instance newspapers had their origin in Norfolk, serving Portsmouth as a neighboring community, as pointed out in an earlier chapter. Portsmouth acquired a paper of its own, the *Virginia Palladium*, in 1827. Many others followed, including the *Portsmouth Transcript*, published by D. D. Fiske, and the *Portsmouth Democrat*, by H. E. Orr.

After the mid-eighteenth century the ferry landing was at the east end of North Street, originally called Ferry Street. But in 1839, for the convenience of patrons from all parts of Norfolk County, the Legislature sanctioned a removal of the ferry landing to its later site at the foot of High Street.

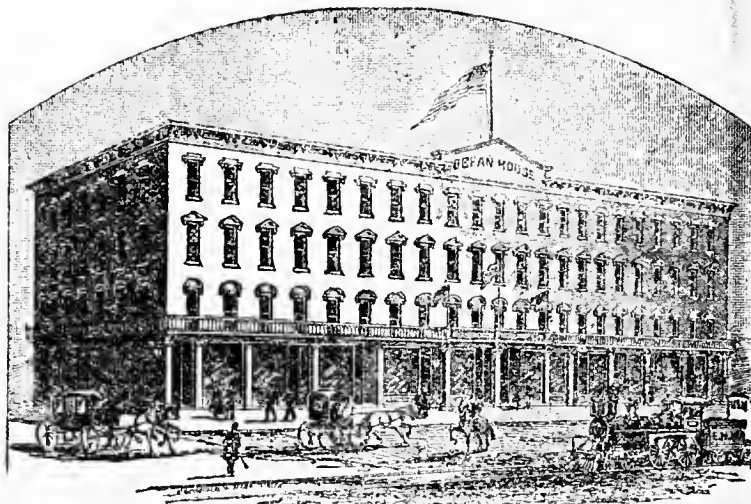
Such were a few of the changes that took place to meet the needs of a town whose population had almost quadrupled in the half-century following 1790. In 1840 there were 6,387 inhabitants, of which 1,890 were slaves and 423 were free Negroes. The centennial year, 1852, was marked by two important changes. The old Board of Trustees was replaced by a popularly elected mayor and council, and the town was laid off into two wards. The whole area east of Court and Fourth streets was named Jackson Ward, and the remaining portion was called Jefferson Ward.

But years of progress were not without their attendant sorrows. Natural calamities were for the most part the result of wind and fire. In March, 1845, a destructive gale brought with it the highest tide in twenty years

and the loss of considerable property. Waterfront streets were so completely submerged as to be navigable by boats while the flood waters remained high. In 1847, earlier in the spring, there had been a busy period for English and

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CORNER HIGH AND COURT STREETS, PORTSMOUTH, VA.



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Lighted with Gas and Heated by Steam throughout. Large and well lighted Sample Rooms.

Telephone communication with Norfolk and Berkley.

(Courtesy Library and Museum Norfolk Naval Shipyard)

PORTSMOUTH—THE OCEAN HOUSE BUILT IN 1856,
THE CITY'S LEADING HOTEL FOR MANY YEARS

American shipping in an effort to relieve the Irish famine of the period. Grain and provisions were in particularly heavy demand, 800,000 bushels of corn being inspected in April, May and June of that year.

In 1849 there was an epidemic of Asiatic cholera in the area. In the autumn of that year gas lights appeared in Norfolk, and shortly afterward made their way to Portsmouth. A famous bank robbery took place on January 18, 1852, when a branch of the Bank of Virginia was successfully plundered. It was not until the following autumn that a Bostonian named

Rand was convicted of the crime and sentenced to ten years in the State Prison. While awaiting a new trial, he escaped from prison and was never recaptured. The loss to the bank totaled \$66,000, but its credit was not injured.

Portsmouth was more progressive than many Virginia communities with respect to the establishment of railroads. Pioneering in this effort was the Seaboard Air Line, which had its start in 1834 in the organization of the Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad, already mentioned.

In 1855 Portsmouth was especially badly hit by the yellow fever epidemic which ravaged this shore area at that time. A merchant ship, the *Ben Franklin*, recently arrived from the West Indies, had arrived at the Page and Allen Shipyard for repairs, just outside the Navy Yard's First Street gate. Trapped in the ship's holds were swarms of yellow fever mosquitoes, which were released when the hatches were opened. This mosquito was not then known to science, and the cause of the epidemic was not recognized. But the plague quickly spread in both Portsmouth and Norfolk, and in less than three months approximately one-tenth of the population of both towns died from the sickness. Those who were able to travel fled from the terror, and only the bravest stayed to care for the ill and bury the dead. Physicians and nurses came from other cities and states to lend their help in the emergency. But the fever continued unabated until cooler weather came in the early fall to bring the first real relief. Many families were wiped out. Children were left orphaned, to be cared for by relatives and friends. And the terror was the greater because the cause of the malady was not then known. Whenever illness descended upon local people for years afterward, fear came that perhaps the dread disease had returned.

In the next chapter, we shall tell of how Portsmouth ceased to be a town and became a City.

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Chapter XVIII

The City of Portsmouth

1858-1957

By *Floyd McKnight*

PORTSMOUTH, LIKE MOST other Virginia urban communities, went through three stages in acquiring full municipal status: (a) establishment (*not* incorporation) by law as a town (1752), (b) incorporation as a town still under jurisdiction of the County (1819), and (c) incorporation as an independent city (1858). The last step occurred in Portsmouth when, on March 1, 1858, the Legislature passed a law reading in part as follows:

"Be it enacted by the general assembly, that the territory contained within the limits of the town of Portsmouth, prescribed by sundry acts of the assembly heretofore passed, shall be deemed and taken as the city of Portsmouth; and the freeholders, housekeepers and inhabitants are hereby made a body politic and corporate, by the name and style of The City of Portsmouth . . ."

Most of Portsmouth's people were opposed to secession. Their forbears had fought to help establish the Union, and they wished no backward step. But Lincoln's call for Virginia troops to battle against her sister states of the South served to marshal sentiment here, as elsewhere throughout the state, in favor of secession. When the secession ordinance was actually passed, with reluctance, the newly-created City of Portsmouth became a major sufferer, not only in the actual fighting, but from the occupation by Union troops. More men of Portsmouth actually went into the Confederate armed forces than there were voters in the city.

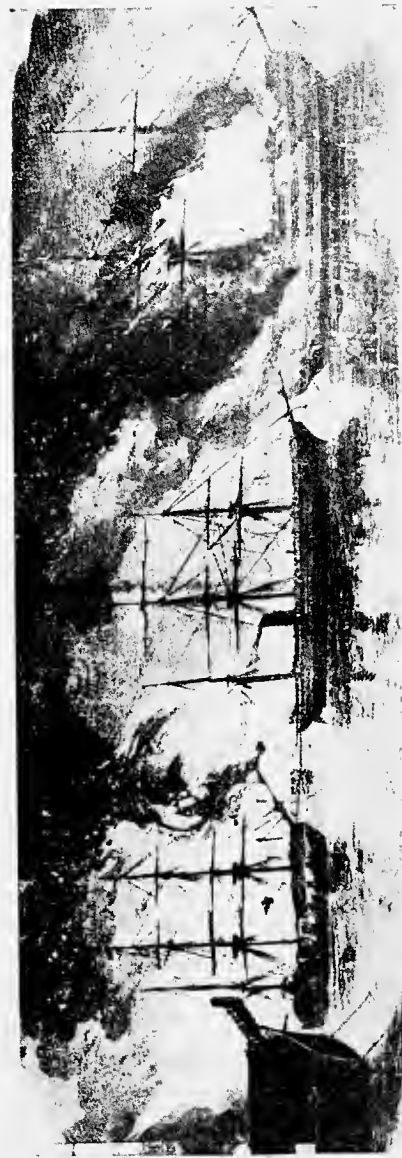
The United States Naval Hospital, on the site of what had formerly been Fort Nelson, and which had but recently served as a center of care for yellow fever victims, now became the location of batteries of war. The mounted cannon which today stands on the hospital grounds, commemorating Fort Nelson, and which was erected by the Fort Nelson Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on May 9, 1906, truly bespeaks the trials and horrors through which this city passed in those difficult times.

On April 20, 1861, Union forces evacuating the city set fire to the Navy Yard. A State Navy was then organized to take possession of the Yard—the second time in history when such a navy was created. Over it the flag of



(Courtesy Library and Museum Norfolk Naval Shipyard)

PORTSMOUTH—DESTRUCTION OF NAVY YARD, APRIL 21, 1861, BY U.S. FORCES



(Courtesy Library and Museum Norfolk Naval Shipyard)

PORTSMOUTH—SCENE IN FRONT OF NAVY YARD AT 4 O'CLOCK THE SAME MORNING

Virginia rose, replacing that of the Union. When the Confederacy was formed soon afterward, the Confederate flag took its place there.

The South, with a very small Navy, and with limited industrial capacity, sought a plan for an "unsinkable ship." Stephen R. Mallory, Confederate Secretary of the Navy, said: "Inequality of numbers may be compensated for by invulnerability." Lieutenant John M. Brooke, a distinguished naval scientist, and John L. Porter, a naval constructor of Portsmouth, undertook to make over the steam frigate *Merrimac*, which had been scuttled and partly burned when the Union forces abandoned the Navy Yard on April 20, 1861.

In July, 1861, reconstruction of the *Merrimac* began. Her hull was cut down to just above the water line, and she was covered with a sloping roof with iron plating four inches thick. She was given a cast iron prow for use as a ram, and fitted with ten heavy cannon. Her tonnage was 3,200. She was 275 feet long, with a beam 38 feet 6 inches and a depth of 27 feet 6 inches. Her draft when loaded was 22 feet and her speed about 9 knots. She carried a crew of 320 men. Her new name, the *Virginia*, clung to her less tenaciously than her original one. Nothing like this ship had ever been seen before.

As news of her existence leaked out to the North, President Lincoln became very interested in the new development, since most vessels in the Union Navy were of wooden construction, after an ancient custom. In October, 1861, the United States Navy signed a contract for an ironclad warship to be designed by John Ericsson, a Swedish engineer and inventor who had lived in the United States for several years. His plan was for a small ironclad steamer, set so low that her deck would be only a foot above water. This would make her hard to hit. The deck would be bare except for a small pilot-house and a revolving turret containing two guns which could fire in any direction without turning the ship. Federal officers, skeptical, inserted a clause in the contract requiring Ericsson and his associates to refund the cost of the ship—\$275,000—if she should fail in her encounter with the *Merrimac*. So sure was Ericsson of his design, however, that he accepted the contract terms without hesitation. The *Monitor* was launched in 100 days from Brooklyn, New York, where she was built, and mechanics worked on her day and night until the very hour of her sailing. She had a tonnage of 987, was 172 feet long, with beam 41 feet 6 inches and a depth of 11 feet 4 inches. She carried a crew of 52.

The encounter on March 9, 1862, of the two ironclads, was an important episode of the war and an all-time first in point of ship construction—a harbinger of future developments. The President himself, with Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and Brigadier General Egbert L. Viele, had a rough voyage to Fort Monroe to get a look at the *Merrimac* in early May, 1862. During a week's absence from Washington, they personally sized up the situation at Hampton Roads

and under the President's direction planned the seizure of Norfolk. With the *Merrimac* in hiding at Seawell's Point and threatening the Union's activities in the entire Hampton Roads area and beyond, they calculated that if Norfolk could be taken the enemy ironclad would have to steam up the James River, where it would do less damage. By the end of the day of



(Courtesy Library and Museum Norfolk Naval Shipyard)

PORTSMOUTH—RUINS OF NAVY YARD, 1865

May 10, Norfolk had fallen, while Lincoln was still at Fort Monroe. At 5 o'clock the next morning, just before the President's departure, news was brought in that the Confederates had blown up the *Merrimac* and that now the entire Union fleet could be sent up the James and York rivers to support McClellan's campaign against Richmond.

During that period, General Robert E. Lee's brother, Captain Sidney S. Lee, was one of the Navy Yard's three Confederate commandants. The Yard was destined to undergo its third destruction by fire on May 10, 1862, when the Confederate forces evacuated both Portsmouth and the Navy Yard, which along with Norfolk were occupied by the Union. Federal troops by whose bayonets the people were ruled at that period were under command of General Benjamin F. ("Beast") Butler, whose methods were condemned even by the Northern press; and afterward Portsmouth's economic and social recovery was retarded by the effects of this occupation. Through the re-

mainder of the War, the Navy Yard served the Union, and when that brutal period was at an end the Yard was rebuilt, and gradually began to show the influence of modern technological developments.

For the general public, the so-called "9 o'clock gun" made an impression after it was first fired in 1866, traditionally as a curfew signal. It still remains today a time-honored institution. In 1867 a large bell was hung in the cupola which surmounted the First Street gate. As electricity made its inroads, an electrical fire-alarm system was installed in 1886. The telephone appeared in 1888, and naturally the Navy Yard was one of the first areas to establish a complete telephone system. In 1889 the first use was made of a railroad extension within the confines of the Yard, and in the same year the second drydock was completed. In 1891 the Labor Board had its beginning. The Naval Post Band was a recognized community institution from 1887 onward, often playing on festive occasions after giving its first concert in that year.

With the introduction of electricity, telephone, telegraph and railways, as well as of greater quantities and expanded uses of iron, the Yard took on a new aspect and new responsibilities. Leading in the construction of a "steel and steam Navy," the Yard built the protected cruiser *Raleigh*, the first ship designed and built by the Government; and in the same year, 1892, the Navy's first battleship, the *Texas*, was launched. With the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America in that year, Hampton Roads became the center of the International Columbian Naval Rendezvous.

During the Spanish-American War, the Navy Yard's importance increased. Many ships were converted, repaired and fitted out for war service here, and all harbor approaches were protected by mines. At the close of that war the Spanish cruiser *Reina Mercedes*, the only vessel of any size saved from the wreck of Admiral Cervera's fleet at Santiago, was brought to the Yard, arriving on May 27, 1899, under escort of twenty-two tugs, with all flags flying and whistles tied down. Thousands of people lined both sides of the river to watch the spectacle. Two torpedoes and other ordnance were removed from her at that time and placed in the Yard's Trophy Park, where they still may be viewed as relics of that war.

The Yard's third drydock was started in 1903, but was not completed until 1911. The dock was of granite and concrete, and was but one of many facilities which it was necessary to add at that period. In 1904, to make way for the new development, the "Schmoele tract," consisting of more than 272 acres, was bought, signaling the Yard's period of greatest growth up to that time. The Jamestown Exposition of 1907 attracted great attention to the Navy Yard, as did the sailing in the same year of the famous "White Squadron" on its world cruise from Hampton Roads. These two events also served to announce to the world that, through naval power, the United States had become a force to be reckoned with in world affairs. Only seven years



(Courtesy Library and Museum Norfolk Naval Shipyard)

PORTSMOUTH—1895 VIEW OF SEABOARD MARKET AND ARMORY,
BUILT IN 1893, BURNED IN 1936



(Courtesy Library and Museum Norfolk Naval Shipyard)

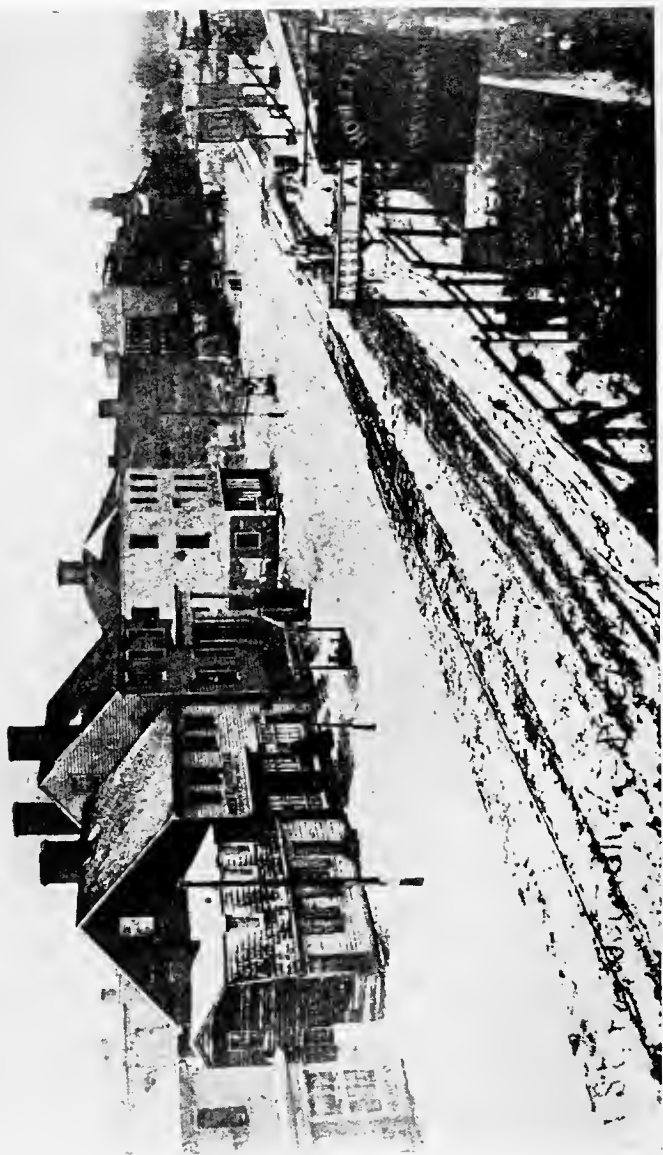
PORTSMOUTH—EAST SIDE OF COURT STREET, CORNER OF HIGH, 1895,
SHOWING OLD POST OFFICE, BUILT IN 1845, OLD TOWN HALL,
AND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

remained until World War I began—perhaps a disaster for modern civilization, but an event which was to bring this new American leadership into still greater prominence.

Meanwhile, the industrial revolution was bringing radical alterations to even the habits of daily living. In Portsmouth as elsewhere the automobile wrought tremendous changes. In 1902 Dr. George Carr became the first local automobile owner with the purchase of a one-cylinder Oldsmobile, which was steered with a lever. Portsmouth soon had its first commercial garage, operated by a Mr. Harmon, who took the agency for the Overland car. His establishment was situated at High and Dinwiddie streets, on the site of the present Hotel Portsmouth. One by one, new automobiles appeared on the city streets, and garages replaced the livery stables of old, a number of which persisted until late in the course of the new trend. "Tin" garages, as they were called, arose in all manner of places alongside and behind the old English-basement homes, and gradually paved roadways took the place of the old shell roads.

The automobile and the accompanying network of highway systems which appeared in ever greater perfection of styling and efficiency were but one symbol of a change that was occurring in the ways of life itself. With the new trend of industry and living came the rush to the city, bringing a doubling of population in scarcely more than a decade of Portsmouth history. In 1900 Portsmouth was a city of 17,427 inhabitants, but by 1910 the figure had grown to 33,190. The gain in that ten-year period alone was 90.4 per cent. The period was one of general prosperity. Also, the coming of the Jamestown Exposition in 1907 and the attendant naval activity served to promote the trend. In 1909 Portsmouth had its fourth annexation, Scottsville and Prentiss Place being taken into the city as its Sixth and Seventh wards. By 1915, when the population reached 38,000, the voters elected to establish the city manager form of government, which went into effect September 1, 1916. At that time the former system of electing a mayor and a bicameral law-making body was abandoned in favor of seven elected councilmen-at-large, who in turn would elect one of their number as mayor and appoint an outside city manager. The third Virginia city to adopt the city manager form, Portsmouth retained it unchanged until 1938, when the city charter was amended by the Legislature to provide for election of a mayor at large and eleven councilmen by wards, but otherwise retaining the city manager plan as it had already functioned for twenty-two years. A subsequent movement arose for a referendum on the question of ending the ward system and returning to the election of councilmen-at-large, who would be reduced in number from eleven to seven.

Through the second decade of this century the Navy Yard kept pace with the general growth trend—or, more accurately stated, led the trend and



(Courtesy Library and Museum Norfolk Naval Shipyard)

PORTSMOUTH—HIGH STREET WEST FROM CRAWFORD
IN DECEMBER, 1872

was a major cause of it. In 1915, before the United States had yet entered World War I, the Yard was greatly expanded. In that year the arrival and internment of the Prinz Eitel Frederick and Kron Prinz Wilhelm in this port heralded the importance of the war to the United States. In 1917 three new drydocks were begun. Their construction continued throughout the period of United States participation in the war, completion coming only in 1920. New shop facilities were also added at the Yard. In February, 1919, employment reached its peak, 11,234 persons having been on record as working here at that time, as compared with 2,718 in June, 1914.

To accommodate these hundreds of Yard workers and their families, many of whom had come from far away, the "Cradock" and "Truxton" housing projects were initiated on the outskirts of the city. These newcomers were necessary to the repair, conversion and building of ships. Four destroyers were an early result of the Yard's effort—the *Craven*, launched in 1918; and the *Hulbert*, *Noa* and *William B. Preston*, in 1919. A battleship of 43,200 tons, the *North Carolina*, BB52, was more than one-third finished when the disarmament agreements of 1923 necessitated the scrapping of this vessel. Between 1919 and 1922 the Yard converted the collier *Jupiter* into the Navy's first aircraft carrier, the *Langley*.

At that period, after the city had strained every resource to feed and house the wartime influx of workers, residents and visitors, employment and population were again declining. From the 11,000 mark in 1919, employment dropped to 2,538 by the end of 1923. Population, which had gone up to 51,000 in 1917 and 57,000 in 1918, making new housing developments a necessity, also reversed its trend, but not in proportion to employment. By the 1920 census the population figure was back to 54,387, the decrease being almost wholly accounted for by the falling off of Navy Yard employment.

First the Navy Yard trend set the tone, then affected many other businesses until at length it became a general trend. Thus, somewhat before similar developments took place elsewhere in the nation as a whole, Portsmouth had entered upon a period of economic depression. Similarly, Portsmouth's position was already considerably improved before the later portion of the decade became years of general depression for the rest of the nation. Improvement came also as a result of the Navy Yard trend, pointing up a long-felt weakness in Tidewater Virginia economy—namely, its seemingly necessary dependence upon naval construction trends. Actually, no new ships were built in the 1920s and early 1930s; but the effects of the long naval holiday and economic depression were alleviated in some degree by a battleship modernization program which started in 1925. Six of the Fleet's older battleships were modernized at the Navy Yard—the *Texas*, in 1925 and 1926; the *New York*, in 1926 and 1927; the *Nevada*, in 1927, 1928 and 1929; the

Arizona, in 1929, 1930 and 1931; the *Mississippi*, in 1931, 1932 and 1933; and the *Idaho*, between 1931 and 1934. In the spring of 1933 came a new reduction in employment at the Yard, as in other Government services, because of the depression of that time. Apprehension was widespread.

The National Industrial Recovery Act of July, 1933, brought some relief, however, making possible a new naval construction program. From its 2,538



(Courtesy Library and Museum Norfolk Naval Shipyard)

TROPHY PARK, U.S. NAVAL SHIPYARD

workers in 1923—fewer than in 1914—Portsmouth's Navy Yard employment figure began once more to rise. By September 1, 1939, when World War II broke out in Europe, the steady increase had brought Navy Yard employment to 7,625 workers. Experience in World War I and the post-war years had given Portsmouth a rigorous schooling in the kind of hardship to which the community seemed destined by geography and natural attributes, and everywhere the determination was now present to surmount some of the difficulties that had beset the city during that earlier holocaust.

Fewer brass bands may have played to accompany the passage of United States soldiers through Hampton Roads, but local people who knew the problem approached it with manifest realism. Battleship modernization had provided expertness in the installation of new boilers, as well as in blister,

deck and underwater protection, placement of turret guns, improved fire control systems and the like, and alteration of ship superstructures to meet the needs of changed times and conditions. But the stagnation that followed had resulted in definite skill shortages in different shipbuilding trades and technical operations—a fact which never ceased to be felt throughout World War II.

From 1938 onward the Yard was again to the fore. Rearmament was the mood of the day to meet first the fear, then the expectation and finally the fact of American entry into the conflict. By the time of Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, the Yard had already become well braced for the war effort, and from February, 1941, when the Atlantic Fleet was established as a separate naval unit, Hampton Roads became its center of operations and home port.

Early in 1941 British ships of war were putting in at the Yard for extensive repairs, and soon afterward other Allied vessels of every flag were doing likewise. Often these operations alone were vast in extent. From 1940 until the end of the war, the Yard performed work on 6,850 naval vessels, and built 101 new ships and landing craft, fifty-four of them combatant vessels. In addition, it manufactured and delivered millions of dollars' worth of products for forces afloat and other shore establishments. The Yard's productive activity in World War II reached the staggering total of more than \$1,000,000,000. Its capacity was increased over and over again. The physical size of the Yard had been doubled, being extended from 352.76 acres to 746.88 acres with nearly four and one-quarter miles of waterfront. A dry dock was constructed that would be large enough to accommodate the largest ship afloat—1,100 feet in length. Permanent and temporary buildings numbering 685 were put up, and the value of the plant increased from \$42,000,000 to nearly \$136,000,000. At the period of the peak work-load, the Yard's manpower requirements were more than five and one-half times greater than they had been at the start of the war. In February, 1943, the payroll at the Yard had reached 42,893 persons—nearly four times the maximum employment during World War I.

As in the earlier war, housing was a pressing problem. During World War II there were at least forty-five public and private projects to increase wartime housing facilities, and the final count showed that 16,487 family units of varying sizes had been constructed. The Yard built and launched thirty major vessels during the war, including nine destroyers constructed between 1934 and 1939. In addition, it built twenty LSTs of 3,776 tons each and many smaller craft. Lost during the war were several of the ships built here—the *Downes*, *Langley*, *Tucker*, *Blue*, *Rowan*, *Fechtelers*, *Osprey* and *Noa*, as well as twenty LSTs.

With the close of the war, the Yard went once more on a peacetime

footing. Its activity and personnel were reduced, the lowest figure being reached in March, 1950, when only 9,025 persons were employed here. The outbreak of the Korean police action in June, 1950, reversed this trend once more, and by August, 1952, the Yard had a payroll of 16,090, which exceeded the peak employment figure during World War I. During that three-year action, the Yard operated under wartime restrictions, and completed repairs or other work on more than 1,250 naval craft. It also built two new ships, the *Bold* and the *Bulwark*, non-magnetic mine-sweepers of laminated wood construction. The cessation of fighting reduced the work load, reducing the total payroll to 14,158 by December, 1953.

In March, 1953, a new electronics building was begun. Its purpose was to improve the Yard's vital service to the Fleet in this rapidly developing field, thereby relieving the overcrowded offices, laboratories and shops in other parts of the Yard. The present Navy Yard is a far cry from the old-time picture of wave-tossed British ships in offshore shallows or careened on the beach, and the sound of the caulker's mallet and carpenter's adze which echoed from the surrounding forest. The forest is gone. Paved streets and railroad track weave efficiently among the more than 400 buildings ranging the 750-acre area. And the building and repair of ships proceed under the most up-to-date conditions to serve the requirements of a technologically revolutionized age. Such is the transformation of historic Gosport, memorialized along with other episodes of interest in the Shipyard Museum, founded in 1949 for the display of relics of the Yard's participation in nine wars and nearly two centuries of naval history.

If much has been said about the Navy Yard, it is said because Portsmouth life revolves about the Yard and is in many ways dependent upon it. In more recent years, however, the city has introduced a variety of industry and business activity. Government figures revealed that in 1952, of total moneys received by local citizens as income, 26.3 per cent came from government—a percentage greater than from any other single source. Portsmouth economists are currently proceeding upon the sound premise that the city's aim must be to increase employment in private manufacturing and industry to a degree at least matching government employment. It is felt that when one out of every five workers in Greater Portsmouth receives his pay check from the government (more than three-quarters of them federal employees and the rest state and local employees), the economic situation is not sufficiently sound.

To alter this situation, such bodies as the Portsmouth Industrial Commission have come into being. This Commission is composed of eleven outstanding citizens working with the mayor and with architects and engineers of repute to help industries investigate the possibilities of settling here. Its Industrial Engineering Survey was made available to interested groups con-

templating the establishment of local enterprises. It further keeps itself in a position to make continuing surveys and analyses of local labor availability and housing facilities, as well as concerning legislative matters, transportation, raw materials and other facts required by industry. The local Chamber of Commerce helps in these efforts, and the Commission has lent its assistance to many firms seeking new plant locations and brought many of them to Portsmouth.

A somewhat different, but related, undertaking is represented by the Portsmouth Industrial Foundation, which manages a constantly growing fund intended to help new industries establish themselves here. For this effort, 555 local persons subscribed amounts ranging from \$10 to \$25,000 for creation of a \$250,000 fund. The real assets of this fund have already increased to \$350,000. The Foundation acquired a large acreage in Norfolk County, adjacent to the City of Portsmouth. It has been instrumental in bringing at least a dozen industrial enterprises of importance to Portsmouth, arranging for sale of land, ownership of buildings and issuance of first and second mortgages for partial financing of these companies through their initial periods of trial and stress. Local banks and private investors have, through such efforts, been spurred to advance more capital than might otherwise have been possible; and, in addition, great publicity has attended the effort and attracted attention to it and to Portsmouth.

Some of the recent newcomers to the family of Portsmouth industries are outstanding industrial companies of America. Esso Standard Oil Company, for instance, acquired 942 acres of prime industrial property along the waterfront here, being influenced among other factors by the presence of nine major railroads connected by the Belt Line Railroad, as well as by the helpful attitude toward industry to be found in Portsmouth. The company's plans included erection of an Esso refinery and resulting employment of from 600 to 800 people.

The Portsmouth Coca-Cola Bottling Works, Inc., started operations in 1953. In erecting their plant, they gave specific evidence of their faith in the future of Portsmouth as one of the promising retail outlets of the East. The plant location was chosen largely because of its ready access to the network of modern highways encircling the Portsmouth area, making deliveries without major traffic snarls an existing reality.

In 1955 Prime Industries, Inc., makers of children's bicycles, of Gardner, Massachusetts, required a distribution point accessible to the sixteen states of the South. A Portsmouth Industrial Foundation tract was available for the purpose, providing Prime Industries with a key transportation point under most favorable conditions.

Another relatively new industry is Gordon Cartons, Inc., founded in 1944. This firm started as one of the smaller but very active ones of the

city, but recently announced its intention of building a new \$300,000 industrial plant on a site acquired through the Portsmouth Industrial Foundation. Its product is paper cartons, and establishment of the new plant will result in stepped-up employment. A primary consideration in this instance was transportation by the system of United States highways which would pass their plant without going through congested areas. A spur line was also possible from the Seaboard right-of-way.

Food products based on the peanut, so richly abundant in nearby counties, are a natural field of activity for Portsmouth. When Best Foods, Inc., established in Norfolk from 1926, was looking over possible plant sites for its Skippy Peanut Butter Division in 1945, it chose Portsmouth for reasons of transportation and of the assistance offered by this city in ironing out difficult company problems to attract a wanted industry.

The Star Band Company elected to settle in Portsmouth in 1948, here to benefit from the atmosphere of friendliness to industry, the availability of skilled labor and the numerous transportation routes by air, rail and highway. This company's "Holiday House" products, so named because the line includes Christmas decorations and party merchandise, have been successful in this city—so much so that the company has twice expanded since settling here. Other products are foamed packaging materials, low temperature insulation, custom silk screening and custom vacuum forming.

Since 1946 some of the other industries settling in Portsmouth have included O. W. Seibert Co., Inc., manufacturers of children's vehicles; Airline Sheet Metal; Associated Naval Architects, boat builders and designers; Fold-away Stairway Company, makers of folding attic stairways; Gerry Nu-Foam, manufacturers of foam rubber items; Southeastern Plastics, Inc.; Murro Chemical Company, makers of soaps and cleaning compounds; Newbill Chimney Manufacturing Company, builders of a new type of chimney; Phillips Petroleum Company, a leading oil distributor; Cute Undies, Inc., makers of children's underwear; National Biscuit Company, who opened a distribution plant in Portsmouth; Nestlé, who announced their intention of building an instant coffee plant in Portsmouth; Colwood Manufacturing Company, producers of modern furniture; and National Cylinder Gas, suppliers of welding and industrial gases.

Still other important industries here include port facilities, warehouses, railroad shops, machine shops, clothing manufacturers, fertilizer and fishery products, canned vegetables, printing, millwork, a variety of foods, army supplies, naval ordnance and construction, meat packing and refrigerants. Companies well established here, which have plants in many cities, include Virginia Smelting, Monsanto Chemical, Procter and Gamble, American Brake Shoe, Allied Mills, the Seaboard shops, Atlantic Creosoting, Dixie Veneer,

Virginia-Carolina Chemical and Planters Manufacturing Company, Inc. (basket manufacturers, employing more than 400 persons).

Newer settlers seeking the benefits of Portsmouth's industrial-mindedness have in many instances utilized available dwelling-places from among the 15,000 housing units built between 1940 and 1945. Residents are pleased



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

PLANT OF DIXIE VENEER COMPANY

with facilities for fresh water, which is obtained from two fresh-water lakes. The water is soft, biologically wholesome and chemically pure, as is evidenced by its adaptability for use in storage batteries. One of the two lakes mentioned actually furnishes the current supply. It contains 650,000,000 gallons. The other lake, which is held in reserve, has a storage of 1,600,000,000 gallons.

The railroad industry is a major one in Portsmouth. As already noted, this industry had its beginnings here in 1834 with the chartering of the Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad. Its principal promoter was Dr. William Collins, though many local residents were investors. The road grew over the years, until in 1900 it became the major link in the consolidation of numerous lines into the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, which continues today as one of the nation's outstanding systems. Portsmouth counted approximately 1,360 employees of the Seaboard locally until removal of the company's general offices from Portsmouth and Norfolk to Richmond in 1958 took about 450 of

this number off the payroll. For years the old Portsmouth and Roanoke line was the only rail link between Portsmouth and other communities.

But in 1882 the Atlantic and Danville Railway was chartered, to run from Portsmouth to Danville. It was completed in 1890, and in 1899 was leased for fifty years to the Southern Railway.

In 1889 three small railroads were united to form the Norfolk and Carolina Railroad, now a part of the Atlantic Coast Line. This road built a large yard and freight terminal at Pinner's Point.

In 1895 the Southern Railway took over the Atlantic and Danville, and entered into a trackage agreement with the Atlantic Coast Line to run from Selma, North Carolina, to Portsmouth. It then built a large yard and freight terminal adjoining the Atlantic Coast Line at Pinner's Point.

In 1898 the New York, Philadelphia and Norfolk Railroad, now a part of the Pennsylvania system, built a yard and car float terminal at Port Norfolk for a water connection with the company's tracks at Cape Charles. This terminal was subsequently moved to Little Creek.

Portsmouth's southward extension in recent years has resulted in the addition of further railroad facilities, which serve industries that are Portsmouth's although they are technically outside the city limits. The Norfolk and Western, for example, serves the new \$33,000,000 Portsmouth power station of the Virginia Electric and Power Company, and the Virginian Railway serves the big St. Julien's Creek Ammunition Depot.

Nine railroads currently serve Portsmouth—the Pennsylvania, Norfolk and Western, Atlantic Coast Line, Seaboard, Atlantic and Danville, Virginian, Southern, Norfolk and Southern, and Chesapeake and Ohio. A tenth, the Norfolk-Portsmouth Belt Line Railroad, connecting the others for efficient local service, dates back to 1896. With its operating headquarters and shops in Portsmouth, it provides employment for 430 persons—trainmen, yardmen, shop workmen and office personnel—standing next to Seaboard in railroad employment figures in this city. Mechanization of warehouse labor has reduced the number of employees of the railroad shops, but this employment continues to be outstanding in importance here.

Bus transportation provides further employment in Portsmouth—150 by the Portsmouth Transit Company, 49 by the Community Motor Bus Company and 17 by the Richmond Greyhound Lines. The National Trailways System's service from Norfolk also passes through Portsmouth.

The Norfolk Municipal Airport has one-hour service to Washington, D. C., and the New York City run takes one hour and forty minutes. National Airlines, Capital and Piedmont supply regular service, not only to the cities mentioned, but to different parts of the South and West. Seven highway express lines provide overnight delivery to New York, and additional truck lines serve a number of metropolitan areas. Some of the better-known truck

lines are Miller, Savage, Horton, Highway Express, Acme, McLean, Hagan, Turner, Adley, Bonney, Great Eastern, Old Dominion and Sewell.

It is estimated that between 40 and 50 per cent of the population of the United States lives within a 400- or 500-mile radius of Portsmouth. The population of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Maryland and the District of Columbia alone approximates 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 people. According to Advertising Board figures, the Hampton Roads area has a population of about 920,000. The Norfolk-Portsmouth metropolitan area has



(Courtesy Library and Museum Norfolk Naval Shipyard)

PORTSMOUTH—THE NORFOLK AND PORTSMOUTH FERRIES, 1895

a present population estimated at 540,040, and ranks as the nation's forty-third largest. Opportunities are rich for markets throughout the South, as well as in the heavy consuming areas of the industrial East and mid-West. The South has, of course, for the last two decades, grown very fast as compared with many other parts of the country.

Electric service is supplied by the Virginia Electric and Power Company, which serves much of Virginia and parts of West Virginia and North Carolina. This company has kept pace with the progress of the area it supplies, and has recently added substantially to its generating capacity to meet the needs of new industries. New facilities increase by 90 per cent its wartime capacity. Rates have been consistently lowered—another factor which helps to attract industry to the area. Several national awards have been made to this utility in recognition of its contributions to industry and the public. Its major steam power stations are situated in Norfolk, Hampton, Richmond,

Alexandria, Charlottesville, Chesterfield, and Possum Point in Virginia; and at Ronceverte, West Virginia, and Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina. Its numerous stations are interconnected by transmission systems, and it also has connections with power facilities of neighboring companies.

Among its other attainments, Portsmouth shares in Hampton Roads' general position as the greatest seaborne coal port in America. This area is the natural gateway linking the Pocahontas and New River coalfields with the world beyond the seas, and is also a center of much coastwise shipping of coal, as of other products. Fuel oil is another important product, great quantities being regularly stored in the area by such oil companies as American, Colonial, Continental, Gulf, Mexican Petroleum, Sinclair, Standard of New Jersey, Standard Oil of New York and Texas Oil Company. Gas is supplied by the Portsmouth Gas Company, with special industrial rates to attract quantity users.

The outstanding industry continues, however, to be the Navy Yard, with its attendant activities—a fact which, though an immense source of satisfaction to local people, is not unmixed with regret that industry does not keep pace with this giant governmental activity. The Naval Hospital here is the oldest and one of the largest institutions of its kind in the United States, and its recent \$15,000,000 building program has already greatly expanded its facilities. Its main building is of sufficient historical importance to have a Virginia historical marker in front of it. The institution's capacity for more than 2,000 patients makes possible the admittance of as many as 100 a day. In certain single months more than 300 infants have been born within its walls. Its purpose and function are primarily military, but its civilian employment roll has passed the 600 mark—which classifies it as "big business" in Department of Commerce terminology.

Other Portsmouth naval and marine installations include the St. Juliens Creek Ammunition Depot, with its 1,200 civilian employees; the Craney Island Naval Fuel Depot, employing 300; and the Marine Forwarding Depot, with 190. These employment figures do not include the uniformed personnel. Still another important Portsmouth activity is the Coast Guard Base, which came to this city when it was consolidated with the Bureau of Lighthouses, which had for years maintained a lighthouse depot along the Elizabeth River, on First Street. Prior to consolidation, the lighthouse operation was a civilian service. Afterward the ships' officers and crews became uniformed Coast Guard personnel, but the shore operations continued to be performed mainly by civilians. At the base, buoys and other aids to navigation are repaired and made ready for installation. The growth of the yard in recent years has resulted in its extension from South Street to the naval shipyard on the east side of First Street, and it has also acquired land on the west side of First Street for storage purposes. Such employment designations as

"buoy mechanic" after names in the Portsmouth directory are explainable by the activities at the Coast Guard Base.

Portsmouth's civic construction program also has involved the building of new municipal and school structures. In 1948, with general community backing, the City Council imposed a 10 per cent tax on all utility bills, income from which was to be earmarked for school improvement. One positive result was the new \$2,500,000 I. C. Norcum High School. Another new



(Courtesy Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce)

PORTSMOUTH—HIGH STREET, LOOKING EAST TO THE FERRIES

educational institution was the John Tyler Elementary School, financed out of annexation expenditures rather than utility bill taxes.

A recent development has been Portsmouth's own sewage disposal plant, built when the city withdrew from the Hampton Roads Sanitation District organization. Financed for a thirty-year period, this plant will no doubt pay for itself before the expiration of that time, being self-sustaining as to current operations.

In the early 1950s the city became dissatisfied with its former police headquarters, and built one of the most up-to-date police stations in the state. The new building is a trim, neat office building, bearing little resemblance to the typical police station of tradition. With complete modern facilities for identification, teletype communication, photography and the like,

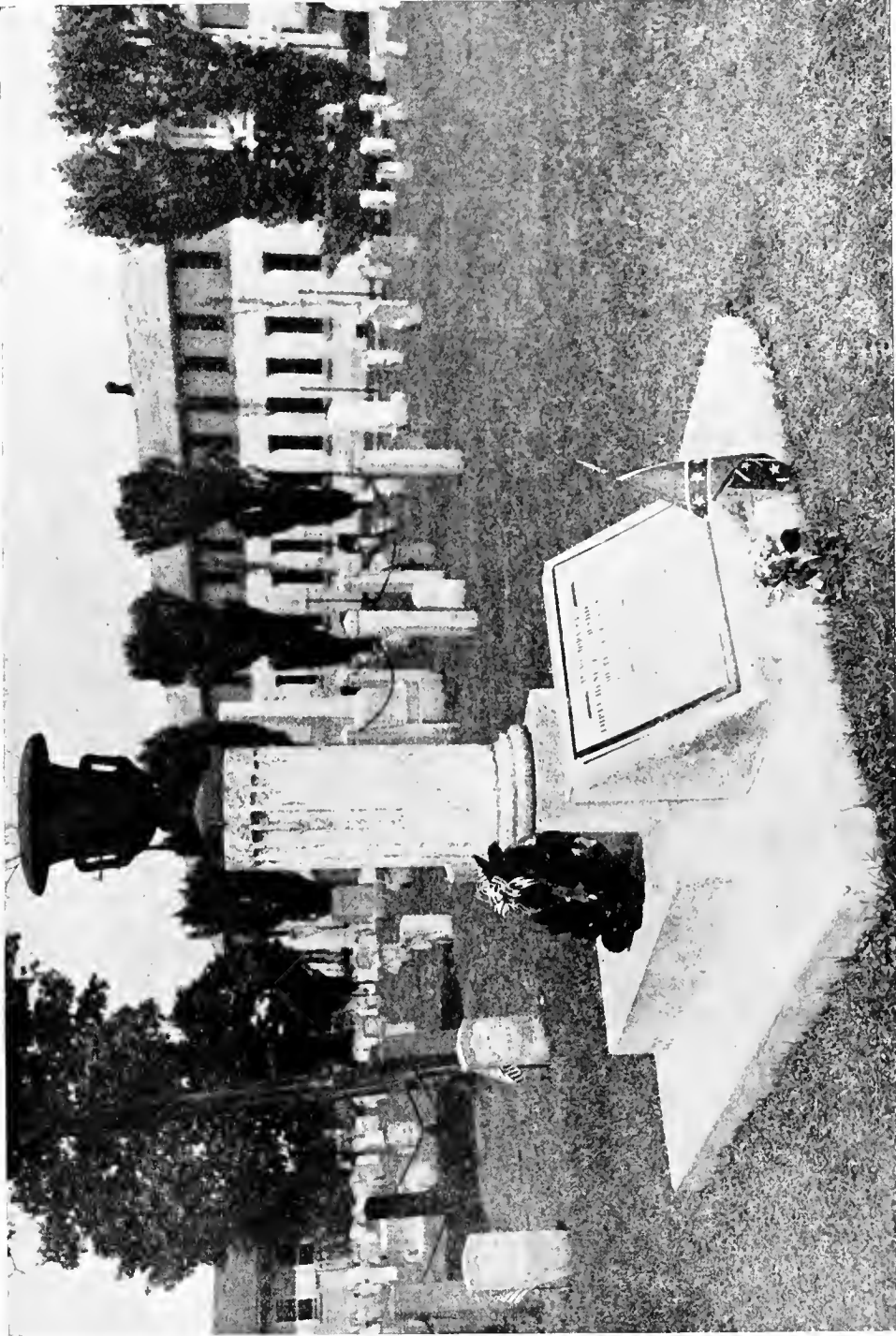
it has a prisoner entrance which does away with the conventional system of stopping the police patrol on the street and marching the prisoners inside. Instead, the patrol wagon is driven into a special section at the rear of the building, and is not unlocked until the outside door of the building is locked. This arrangement reduces prisoner embarrassment, eliminates curiosity seekers and avoids any possibility of escape.

The Fire Department also has a new headquarters and an additional regional fire station. The Health Department likewise boasts a new building, and plans are under way for a new Public Library. The Water Department is, of course, the city's special pride and joy. It was created at a cost of \$12,000,000, although the replacement value is set at \$20,000,000. It was acquired January 2, 1919, from a private company for approximately \$3,000,000, and currently has a debt of \$8,000 in serial bonds and \$600,000 in short-term notes. Over a month's time this department pumps an average of 14,000,000 gallons of water daily to serve 27,000 customers. Income from Water Department operations is channeled into the general municipal fund. The budget is currently around \$400,000.

The city itself employs 731 persons aside from its teachers, who number 488, serving 13,474 children. Twenty-four playgrounds are maintained. There are three golf courses, a city park, three country clubs and a 10,000-capacity stadium which is one of the finest in Virginia. Night football and baseball are made possible by existence of the stadium. The city has professional baseball, its team belonging to the Piedmont League. Boating, fishing, swimming and all types of sports are available nearby.

Four banking institutions meet the needs of the community—the American National, the Bank of Virginia, the Citizens Trust Company and the Merchants and Farmers Bank. The *Portsmouth Star*, now merged with Norfolk Newspapers, Inc., appears daily and Sunday. Two hospitals, in addition to the Naval Hospital, round out the city's health facilities. The city is accessible by numerous highways, both federal and state, including Federal Routes 17, 58 and 460 and State Routes 10, 502 and 503, as well as by rail, water and air. Formerly a five-minute ferry ride connected the city with Norfolk, although since May 23, 1952, the main connection between the two cities is by the Norfolk-Portsmouth Bridge-Tunnel, constructed by the Elizabeth River Tunnel Commission at a cost of \$23,000,000. The bridge portion was opened to traffic on April 27, 1952, and the two-lane tunnel on May 23, that year. The tunnel is the tenth trench type tunnel in the United States and the eleventh in the world, and is illuminated with a continuous band of fluorescent lights from portal to portal. The bridge is a scenic four-lane steel, reinforced concrete structure with a bascule span, having a horizontal clearance of 150 feet and vertical clearance of fifty feet.

A city which deserves high praise for its effort to keep pace with the



PORTSMOUTH—U. S. NAVAL HOSPITAL CEMETERY

great naval installations which are its hub and center of activity, Portsmouth still is known throughout the United States and the wide world for its Navy Yard* and great Naval Hospital. As one high-ranking uniformed officer of the Yard is quoted concerning the great Yard's activities,—

"The employees here have an attitude that is different from that in other yards. They have a fine *esprit de corps*. They have strong family links with the yard. I know of no other in which you will find numerous instances of father, son and grandson all being civilian employees of the Yard."

The Iron Worker, published by the Lynchburg Foundry Company, features a Virginia topic in each issue. This publication, treating Portsmouth, commented:

"The far-reaching influence of industry on many American cities during the unprecedented industrial expansion of the past half century has been marked. But it is doubtful that any industry has played so important a role for so long a period of time in the life of an American city as that of the United States Naval Shipyard at Portsmouth, Virginia.

"Although known officially as the Norfolk Naval Shipyard, the plant is peculiarly Portsmouth. The city has grown up with it and about it until now it encircles the Yard physically. But the relationship is something more than physical. For longer than a century and a half, Portsmouth has provided workmen for the Yard as son followed father and grandson followed grandfather into the maritime trades there. The Yard's first commandant under Federal operation was a Portsmouth naval hero. A Portsmouth naval constructor drew the designs from which the Yard built the ironclad *Merrimac* before it went into battle with the *Monitor*. Every night a naval shipyard gun sends its roar across the city to mark the hour of 9 o'clock.

"The shipyard has a history unrivaled by any other industrial operation in the country, but its place is not one of history but rather modern industrial might.

"Japan and Germany felt the power of that might in World War II, when the Yard built 101 ships and repaired, overhauled, converted or otherwise worked on 6,850 vessels. Wages paid by it in that period exceeded a half billion dollars. The number of employees at one time exceeded 42,000. And that is big business whether it is governmental or private operation."

Appended below are the names of Portsmouth men who paid the supreme sacrifice in World War II in defense of their country and furtherance of its cause, and to whom the people of City, State and Nation owe so much:

ADALMAN, MELVIN, Pvt., M. Mother, Mrs. Jean Foreman

AKIN, ARTHUR C., JR., 2nd Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. Ocie F. Akin

ALDEN, F. B., Cpl., M. Wife, Mrs. F. B. Alden

* The official designation "Norfolk Naval Shipyard" is no slight to Portsmouth, but simply intended to distinguish it from a similar activity in Portsmouth, N. H.

- ALDEN, HARTLEY W., Cpl., M. Wife, Mrs. Hartley W. Alden
AMBUEHL, CARYL NICHOLAS, Pfc., M. Wife, Mrs. Rita M. L. Ambuehl
ANDERSON, LINDSAY L., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Ruth Anderson
ANDERSON, WILLIAM JAMES, Cox., N. Wife, Mrs. Frances Juanita Anderson
ANDREWS, JERRARD HOWARD, CMM, N. Wife, Mrs. Girlie Madalyne Andrews
APPLEWHITE, WILLIAM W., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Lizzie L. Applewhite
ASHE, ANDREW L., JR., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Ruth M. Ashe
BAINES, EDWARD ROY, Sgt., A. Wife, Ellis C. Baines
BAKER, WILLARD READ, S2c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Fenton McCoy Baker
BARAS, EMANUEL, Pfc., A. Father, Herman L. Baras
BARLEON, RICHARD L., Lt., N. Mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Old Barleon, Cambridge, Massachusetts
BENNETT, HERMAN J., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Alpha J. Bennett
BLANKS, JAMES A., JR., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Margaret C. Blanks
BOGGS, DAVID PERRIN, SR., Cpl., A. Wife, Mrs. Sarah Boggs
BOOTH, LINWOOD E., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Vera K. Booth
BOOTH, WILLIAM LEWIS, CFC, N. Wife, Mrs. Catherine Virginia Booth
BOOTHE, JAMES HENRY, JR., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Josephine Stokes Boothe, Washington, D. C.
(Also Norfolk City)
BOYD, JOSEPH T., T/Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Hazel Hope Boyd
BRANN, DENNIS WARREN, S1c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. John Henry Brann
(Also Norfolk County)
BRINKLEY, JAMES E., S1c, N. Wife, Mrs. James E. Brinkley
BRITTINGHAM, OTIS B. (*See Accomack County*)
BROOKS, VERNON A., JR., 1st Lt., A. Wife, Mrs. Vernon A. Brooks, Jr.
BROWN, JOHN WINSTON, Pfc. Mrs. Louise Brown
BROWNLEY, HARRY AYRES, JR., Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Minnie V. Brownley
BUNDICK, RALPH WILLIAM, Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Charlotte Keith Vaughan
Bundick, R. F. D. 1
(Also Accomack County and Norfolk County)
BURCH, MELVIN JEROME, Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Ethel Virginia Brinkley Burch
BURNEY, DUNCAN L., JR., Cpl., A. Sister, Miss Alma Lee Burney
BYERS, ROBERT E., Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Hilda Byers
CAMPBELL, WILLIAM G., Lt., A. Father, Charles W. Campbell
CAVE, WINSTON. (*See Petersburg City*)
CHRISTIAN, JAMES EDWARD, JR., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Ellen Mason Christian
COX, JAMES B., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Lillie A. Cox
(Also Norfolk County)
COX, RUSSELL MILLS, JR., Lt.(jg), N. Mother, Mrs. Miriam D. Cox
CROSS, JAMES CORIN, SoM2c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Latimer Cross
CROSS, JAMES M., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. E. T. Cross

CROSSLEY, VERNON N., SM3c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. N. B. Crossley,
R. F. D. 2

CULPEPPER, EDWARD WRAY, S2c, N. Wife, Mrs. Marcelle Begor Culpepper

CURLING, HEYWOOD WARREN, JR. (*See Norfolk City*)

DARDEN, WILLIAM H., Capt., A. Mother, Mrs. Lillian L. Darden

DAVIS, HENRY JOSEPH, S2c, N. Father, Benjamin Davis

DAVIS, LEONARD F., T/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Minnie B. Davis

DEANS, JULIAN R., F1c, N. Father, Charlie Jackson Deans

DEER, JAMES MONTAGUE, Boatswain, N. Wife, Mrs. Helen Rebecca Deer
(Also Norfolk County)

DENT, GEORGE ALBERT, Officer's Steward 3c, N. Wife, Mrs. Earle Syllian
Dent

DOZIER, ARNOLD L., Pvt., A. Sister, Mrs. Edith D. Brimson

DUNFORD, GALVIN H., Pfc., A. Brother, Gordon D. Dunford

DUNN, J. LEWIS, Cpl., A. Mother, Mrs. Effie M. Dunn

ENGLISH, WILLIAM, AMM1c, N. Mother, Mrs. Gertrude Drew Williams

ETHERIDGE, WILLARD E., 1st Lt., A. Father, Joseph H. Etheridge

EURE, EVERETT JAMES, EM3c, N. Father, William J. Eure

FAUST, KYLE HOWARD, CMM, N. Wife, Mrs. Fancy Lucille Faust
(Also Norfolk County)

FEATHERSTON, JOHN HENRY, JR. (*See Charlottesville City*)

FITCHETTE, FREDERICK E., JR., T/5, A. Mother, Mrs. F. E. Fitchette, Sr.

FITZGERALD, WILLIAM R., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Ebbie E. Fitzgerald

FLOUM, EDWARD, T/5, A. Brother, Walter Floum

FORNEY, WILLIAM A., 2nd Lt., A. Wife, Mrs. Margaret W. Forney
(Also Norfolk County)

GALLUP, BILLY L., Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Josephine J. Gallup
(Also Norfolk County and Norfolk City)

GARDNER, JAMES P. Pvt., M. Father, Paul Gardner
(Also Norfolk County)

GATLING, HERBERT M., Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Nell M. Gatling

GEARHART, WILLIAM R., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Eva C. Gearhart

GILLERLAIN, ERVIN E., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Ellen M. Gillerlain

GILLIAM, JOHN DOUGLAS, Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Dorothy Mae Gilliam

GORMAN, NICHOLAS R., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Catherine H. Gorman

GRANT, CHARLES CARL, CCS, N. Wife, Mrs. Naomi Elizabeth Grant

GRAY, JAMES PRESTON, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Maggie L. Gray

GRIFFITH, HAROLD D., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Edna Griffith

HALL, GEORGE L., S/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Rosie E. Hall

HARLESS, RALPH, Pfc., M. Guardian, Mrs. Guy C. Edwards
(Also Norfolk County)

HARRIS, HOWARD F., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Harriet C. Harris

- HARRISON, WILLIAM HENRY, S/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Hattie Harrison
HAYDEN, VERNON B., Capt., A. Mother, Mrs. J. F. Hayden
HIGHTOWER, MACK W., Pvt., A. Brother, Ernest W. Hightower
(Also Norfolk County)
HILL, BARTLEY TAYLOR, AOM3c, N. Father, Orin Howard Hill
HINTON, JAMES ROBERT, JR., OCK3c, N. Wife, Mrs. Lilia Rachel Hinton
HLADILEK, CHARLES ANDREW, ARM1c, N. Wife, Mrs. Rosemary Hladilek
HODGES, THOMAS A., III, Lt., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. T. A. Hodges
(Also Norfolk County)
HOPKINS, WILLIAM M., T/5, A. Mother, Mrs. Ida R. Hopkins
HORNE, EARL F., Lt.(jg), N. Wife, Mrs. Betty Virginia Brown Horne
HOWELL, FRANK MYERS, Y1c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Monroe
Howell
HUDGINS, HENRY C., Capt., A. Wife, Mrs. Elizabeth N. Hudgins
HUNTER, FRANK PATTERSON, Col., A. Wife, Mrs. Maria Long Hunter,
Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina
HUNTER, VICTOR IRVIN. (*See* Norfolk City)
HUTCHINS, ROBERT, Machinist, N. Mother, Mrs. J. M. Overton
ISBEL, PAGE H., T/5, A. Mother, Mrs. Manor Isbel McGean
(Also Lynchburg City)
JANICKI, TEDDY EUGENE, SF3c, N. Wife, Mrs. Stella Janicki
JENKINS, WILLIAM FRANKLIN, S1c, N. Mother, Mrs. Anna Bell White
JENNINGS, RAYMOND, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Lucy Jennings
JERNIGAN, JAMES H., JR., S/Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Jernigan
JOHNSON, FOLKE LEON, 1st Lt., A. Wife, Mrs. Dorothy Marian McFall
Johnson, Tampa, Florida
(Also Norfolk County)
JONES, ALFRED ALEXANDER, Lt.(jg), N. Wife, Mrs. Alice Barham Jones
(Also Roanoke City)
JONES, ARTHUR W., Pfc., A. Lillie M. Jones
JONES, JOHN PAUL, JR. (*See* Danville City)
KANACH, CHARLES EDWARD, CMM, N. Wife, Mrs. Sadie Virginia Kanach
KANE, STEPHEN P., Sgt., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. John Kane
(Also Norfolk County)
KIMMEL, WILLIAM ARTHUR, WT1c, N. Wife, Mrs. Beverly A. Kimmel
KING, SIDNEY F., Pfc., A. Father, Roland E. King
KJORNES, CHARLES MORRIS, S1c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Carl Kjornes
KREGER, LYNWOOD DAVIS, SK1c, N. Wife, Mrs. Clara Shuman Kreger
LARKIN, HERBERT S., Capt., A. Mother, Mrs. Annie E. Larkin
LASSITER, ARTHUR ELZEY, S2c, N. Mother, Mrs. Harrison Lassiter
LASSITER, ERNEST C., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Penelope Lassiter

LASSITER, GRAYSON BLACKWELL, PhM3c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. John Robert Lassiter, Sr.

LASTER, CLARENCE E., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Jessie Laster, R. F. D. 3
(Also Norfolk County)

LIKENS, LEWIS H., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Virginia C. Likens

LINTON, JOHNNY W., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Willie V. Linton
(Also Alleghany County and Norfolk County)

LOYD, VERNON E., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Mary Helen McCumberlin Loyd

LYONS, ROLAND C., JR., S/Sgt., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Roland C. Lyons
(Also Norfolk County)

MCCAIN, EDWIN ARTHUR, T/5, A. Mother, Mrs. Bessie McCain

MCCARTY, GEORGE T., S/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Carrie McCarty

MCCORMICK, LANDON C., JR., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Kate McCormick

MCEACHERN, HERNDON W., Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Marguerite McEachern

MABINE, OCTAVIUS, Mess Att.1c, N. Mother, Mrs. Essie Ora Mabine, R. F. D. 2

MALONE, THOMAS FRANCIS, Lt., N. Wife, Mrs. Barbara M. Malone
(Also Norfolk County)

MANGANAAN, EDUARDO, OCck, N. Wife, Mrs. Betty Manganaan

MARSH, CLAYTON C., Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Clayton C. Marsh

MASON, CLAIRE E., Pfc., A. Father, Lee A. Mason

MATTHEWS, FRED D., Cpl., A. Mother, Mrs. Ellie R. Matthews

MATTHEWS, HARRY ELMO. (*See Norfolk County*)

MAYBERRY, VERNON S., JR., MM1c, N. Wife, Mrs. Dorothy Parker Mayberry

METZ, KAMERON BURTON, Lt.(jg), N. Wife, Mrs. Mildred Annie Metz

MICHAEL, CLIFFORD M., S/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Gay Michael

MILLER, JAMES MARSHALL, CWT, N. Wife, Mrs. Lavetta Bell Miller

MIXON, WILLIAM BENJAMIN, 1st Lt., A. Wife, Mrs. Cleo Walker Mixon

MIZELL, H. H., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Mattie H. Mizell

MOODY, WILLIE W., S/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. May Moody, R. F. D. 1
(Also Norfolk County)

MORRIS, JOHN A., Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. John A. Morris

MOYNIHAN, CHARLES C., Pfc., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Maurice S. Moynihan

MURPHY, GEORGE EDWARD. (*See Accomack County*)

MUSGROVE, VERNIE ELIGIA, SF2c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Hiram Musgrove

(Also Norfolk County)

MUSTAD, LEWIS, CSM, N. Wife, Mrs. Georgia Mustad

NASH, CHARLES FRANCIS, Lt., RCAF. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Monroe Nash

NEBLETT, ROBERT W., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Estelle Neblett

(Also Norfolk County)

NEE, BARTHOLOMEW W., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Margaret Nee

NESPOLI, NICHOLAS VINCENT, S1c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Panteloe Nespoli

NEWSOME, ALBERT KENNETH, CMM, N. Brother, Thomas Wesley Newsome

NICHOLAS, EUGENE ROSS, F1c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. William Walter Nicholas

(Also Richmond City)

NIXON, WILLIAM, 2nd Lt., A.

ODOM, JAMES E., S/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Margaret B. Odom

(Also Norfolk County)

O'NEAL, CHARLES BERTRAM, CMM, N. Wife, Mrs. Maxine Lee O'Neal

OVERTON, ROBERT HUTCHINS, Warrant Officer Machinist, N. Wife, Mrs. Florence Tinsley Overton

PALMER, THOMAS ROTTON, CWT, N. Wife, Mrs. Vivienne Schofield Palmer

PARKER, WADE C., Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Barbara C. Parker

PAUGH, RAYMOND HENRY, CEM, N. Wife, Mrs. Ruth Vivian Paugh

PENDLETON, JOHN L., JR., Sgt., A. Friend, Mrs. Ruth Carthright

PERKINS, WILLIAM EARL, S/Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Bessie Creamer Perkins

(Also Norfolk County)

PIERCE, LOUIS LEE, FC1c, N. Wife, Mrs. June Pierce

PITTMAN, THOMAS F., S/Sgt., A.

POWELL, MARTINUS, Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Mable Powell

PRICE, ISAIAH, JR., Mess Att.2c, N. Father, Price, Sr.

RABER, WARREN HOWARD. (*See Norfolk City*)

RANDALL, ANDREW JAMES, Pay Clerk, N. Wife, Mrs. Viola Felton Randall

RAWLINGS, HOWARD FREDERICK. (*See Norfolk City*)

REID, STALIE C., 1st Lt., A.

RIDDICK, THOMAS L., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Lillian Riddick, R. F. D. 2

(Also Norfolk County)

ROSS, GARLAND PRESSON, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Annie M. Ross

ROYALS, WILLIAM NICHOLAS, F1c, N. Mother, Mrs. Mary Ann Royals, R. F. D. 3

(Also Norfolk County)

SANTILLAN, EMETERIO, CSt, N. Wife, Mrs. Alida Pagan Santillan

SCHLOEGEL, JOHN J., Gunnery Sgt., M. Wife, Mrs. John J. Schloegel

SEBRELL, VIRGINIUS, Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Beatrice C. Sebrell

SHANER, VERNON CARLYLE, Lt., N. Wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas Shaner

(Also Lynchburg City)

SHAW, MORRIS ADMIRAL, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Nannie Shaw

SHERRILL, HOMER, CTM, N. Wife, Mrs. Nancy Elizabeth Sherrill

SIMPSON, MERLIN LARENCE, CEM, N. Wife, Mrs. Jeanille Simpson

SIMS, JAMES B., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Stella G. Sims

SMITH, ELMER J. Pfc., A. Uncle, Sherman Bailey

(Also Roanoke County)

SMITH, JESSE RAYMOND, JR., MM1c, N. Mother, Mrs. Gertrude M. Smith

SMITH, LEWIS WATES, 1st Lt., A. Wife, Mrs. Mary Lynn Travis Smith,

Martin, Tennessee

SMITH, MILTON FRED, ACRM, N. Wife, Mrs. Mary Jane Smith

SNYDER, JOHN W., JR., T/Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Frances C. Snyder

SPRINGER, RANDOLPH E., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Katherine V. Springer

STEVENS, JAMES EDWARD, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Estelle Wilson Stevens

STEVENS, LEROY WARREN, StM3c, N. Father, Leroy Stevens

STORY, ARGUS WINFIELD, JR., AOM3c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Argus
Winfield Story, Sr.

STRICKLAND, ROBERT D., Cpl., A. Mother, Mrs. Elizabeth V. Strickland

(Also Norfolk County)

SUPERNOIS, DONALD WARD, CMM, N. Wife, Mrs. Ida Gertrude Supernois

SWORD, DEAN W., Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Rachael Sword

TAYLOR, DOUGLAS, BM2c. Mother, Mrs. Homer Page

TAYLOR, GEORGE LINWOOD, Cpl., A. Mother, Mrs. Zelma D. Taylor

(Also Norfolk County)

TEMPLE, THOMAS COSTELLO, BM2c, C. Mother, Mrs. Martha McBride
Temple

THOMPSON, JAMES FRANKLIN, 2nd Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. Eddie Sue Thomp-
son, R. F. D. 1

(Also Norfolk County)

THOMPSON, SIDNEY K., 2nd Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. Sallie G. Thompson

THOMPSON, WALTER ANDREW, CGM, N. Wife, Mrs. Lucille Thompson

TOOMER, JAMES HODGES, III, Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. Kathrene Kennedy Toomer

TREACLE, HAROLD W., Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Anna W. Treacle

(Also Norfolk County)

VINING, GORDON G., Lt., N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Leonard E. Vining

(Also Norfolk County)

VREDENBURG, IVAN H., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Effie Vredenburg, R. F. D. 3

(Also Norfolk County)

WALKER, DAVID, Mess Att.3c, N. Mother, Mrs. Edna Lee Ward

WARREN, MANLEY P., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Helen P. Warren

(Also Norfolk County)

WESCHLER, CHARLES JOHN, Lt., N. Wife, Mrs. Mary Allen Weschler

WHITEHURST, JAMES S., JR., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Ruth M. Whitehurst,
R. F. D. 1

(Also Norfolk County)

WILKINS, RAYMOND H., Maj., A. Mother, Mrs. Virgil J. Vallier, Columbia,
North Carolina

- WILLIAMS, JULIAN G., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Mattie S. Williams
 WILLIAMS, LEWIS J., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Addie T. Williams
 WILLIAMS, OSCAR LEE, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Blanche Williams
 WILLIAMS, WILBUR SLADE, Officer's Steward 3c, N. Wife, Mrs. Mildred
 Frances Williams
 WILLIAMS, WILLIAM JACKSON, JR., Ens., N. Father, William J. Williams, Sr.
 WILLIAMSON, JOHN, JR., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Barbara Williamson
 (Also Norfolk County)
 WILLIS, JAMES H., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Oscar M. Willis, R. F. D. 2
 (Also Norfolk County)
 WINCHESTER, JOHN EDWIN, AMM2c, N. Wife, Mrs. Gloria Marks Win-
 chester, San Diego, California
 WOLFE, DONALD PAUL, F1c, N. Father, Arnold Wolfe
 WOOLFORD, THOMAS RALPH. (*See Norfolk City*)
 WYATT, LINWOOD ARTHUR, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. William H. Wyatt
 WYNN, JAMES WESLEY, Lt(jg), N. Wife, Mrs. Rosa Perkins Wynn
 YARBROUGH, RAYMOND L., 2nd Lt., A. Father, Fred C. Yarbrough
 (Also Norfolk County)

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Chapter XIX

The Town and City of South Norfolk

1919-1957

SOUTH NORFOLK is Lower Tidewater's youngest major municipality. It is situated on the east side of the Southern Branch of Elizabeth River (which is its western boundary), has a common boundary on the north with the Berkley and Campostella sections of Norfolk City, and is bounded on the east and south by Washington District of Norfolk County of which it once was a part. Its southern limit was originally Jones's Creek at the Virginian Railway's bridge over Southern Branch, but was in 1950 extended to include the village of Portlock and the Money Point industrial area, and eastward to reach Indian River.¹

The general area from which South Norfolk was carved—south of Eastern Branch and east of Southern Branch—was successively a part of New Norfolk County (1636), of Lower Norfolk County (1637), and of Norfolk County (1691). As such its early history has been given in chapters under those headings. Suffice it to say here that this area was settled a little later than the Seawell's Point or Lambert's Point sections, but by 1639 was sufficiently populous to be set up as the short-lived Southern Shore Parish, one of the three into which Lower Norfolk was then divided; soon after 1643 it fell into Elizabeth River Parish. The Southern Branch chapel of ease of the latter parish was built in 1661 on a site between Scuffletown Creek and Jones's Creek near what is now Barnes Road within South Norfolk city limits. Upon the division of Elizabeth River Parish in 1761, the area in question became a part of Saint Bride's Parish, whose first vestry was:

	William Smith }	Churchwardens
	John Portlock }	
Henry Herbert		James Webb
Thomas Nash, Jr.*		Robert Tucker, Jr.
James Wilson		Samuel Happer
Joshua Corprew		Malachi Wilson
John Wilson		William Happer ²

* Grandson of him who had been clerk of Southern Branch Chapel in 1728.

Throughout the colonial period and two-thirds of the way through the nineteenth century, this area continued to follow the agricultural pattern of the other rural sections of these parts, with emphasis gradually turning toward truck farming, as was also the case in neighboring Princess Anne. It was not until after the war was over in 1865, and the rail service was



(Courtesy "Norfolk Virginian-Pilot")

SOUTH NORFOLK—NEW PUBLIC LIBRARY

resumed in 1866 and "outside influences" were removed by 1870, that the real industrial potentialities of this section began to be realized. In 1890 the populous area to the north was incorporated as the town of Berkley; about the turn of the century handsome homes were built here by the following gentlemen, some of whom had been active in Berkley's development: William Tilley, Thomas Woodard, J. P. André Mottu, E. M. Tilley and William Sloan. The citizens of this area saw Berkley annexed by the City of Norfolk in 1906, and with that city's further expansion toward the north in the next few years, it became clear to them that they must soon choose between eventual annexation and municipal independence. It was this spirit of independence which caused them to decide for the latter course, and that same spirit of independence—handed on to their present successors—is still responsible for the individuality and progressive energy of the community.³

Municipal status did not come until 1919, however, and in that year the Town of South Norfolk was incorporated. It was unusual in that it never had unincorporated status as a town, a step that most Virginia municipalities go through in their ascent of this ladder. It was also unusual in that it did not wait but three years before moving up to the next step: in 1922 South Norfolk became a city of the second class, a provision of the new Virginia Constitution of 1902. A city of the second class is of under 10,000 population and, like a town, has its own administration but is judicially under the jurisdiction of the County Court—in this case, the Circuit Court of Norfolk County. In 1950, upon the extension of limits to the east and south as previously noted, South Norfolk acquired sufficient population to become a city of the first class. At that time it was also independent of Norfolk County



(Courtesy "Norfolk Virginian-Pilot")

SOUTH NORFOLK—OSCAR FROMMEL SMITH HIGH SCHOOL

and got its own Corporation Court; the first judge was the late Q. C. Davis, Jr., long prominent in the city's affairs, who was succeeded by the present incumbent Judge Jerry G. Bray, Jr., former Commonwealth's Attorney. Here the function of Civil and Police Courts are joined under the gavel of Justice Herman White. South Norfolk was originally governed under the mayor-council type of government, but is now under a council-manager form of administration with the usual departments: Public Safety, Public Health, Public Welfare, Public Works and Finance, plus Planning Commission and Recreation Department, and Public Schools—the latter, as usual, under a State-appointed Superintendent.⁴

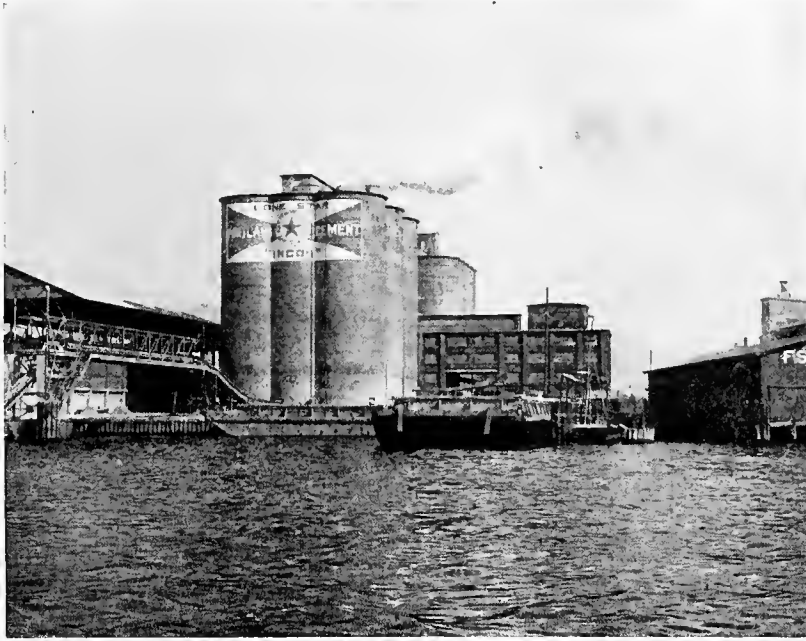
The city has an up-to-date public school system which is composed of the Oscar Frommel Smith High School, the George Washington Carver High and Elementary School, the South Norfolk Junior High School and five elementary schools. The principal denominations are represented here: active in the city's religious life are the South Norfolk Congregational Christian Church, the South Norfolk Baptist Church, the South Side Baptist Church, the Chesapeake Avenue Methodist Church and the South Norfolk Presby-

terian Church. South Norfolk is geographically in Saint Bride's Protestant Episcopal Parish and in Saint Matthew's Roman Catholic Parish; the mother churches of these parishes are located in Berkley. As of 1957, there were three attorneys and a dozen physicians practising here. The Merchants' and Planters' Bank of Berkley established a branch in South Norfolk; as noted elsewhere in these pages, this bank was recently absorbed by the National Bank of Commerce of Norfolk.

South Norfolk is well served by highways and railroads. Two principal north-south links between Norfolk and North Carolina—U.S. 460 and Va. 170—pass through the city. It is physically connected with Portsmouth by the Jordan Bridge, a toll facility operated by the South Norfolk Bridge Commission. The military or defense highway—U.S. 13—crosses the Southern Branch by a bridge at the southern city limit, the only toll-free route out of Norfolk to the west. Three of the four railroads serving South Norfolk maintain bridges over the Branch, the exception being the Norfolk and Southern which runs due south; the Norfolk & Western bridge parallels the military highway span, the Virginian's bridge is a little lower, and Belt Line bridge is below the Jordan bridge, entering Portsmouth just south of the U. S. Naval Shipyard. The Norfolk & Southern maintains its shops at Carolina Junction in South Norfolk, where its line joins and crosses the Virginian. The Norfolk & Western also has its Portlock Yard in the city limits right next to the U. S. Government Storage Yard; and the Norfolk & Portsmouth Belt Line crosses and joins all the other lines with each other and with the other six trunk lines that serve the port of Hampton Roads. The South Norfolk Airport—a few miles south in the County—has facilities for private planes, charter service and pilot instruction.

South Norfolk's economic life blood is found chiefly in the heavy industry on its waterfront. In fact we venture to say that there is more heavy industry of the petroleum and fertilizer variety, plus some others, concentrated in this slightly over three miles of waterfront than in any comparable space in the area. A glance at a city planning commission map will suffice to show how true this is; reading from north to south on the Southern Branch, within South Norfolk city limits, are the following: James River Oil Co., Gulf Refining Co., Lone Star Cement Co., F. S. Royster Guano Co., J. C. Wilson Corp. (steel doors), Atlantic Coast Lumber Co., Reliance Fertilizer & Lime Co., Mexican Petroleum Corp., E. H. Barnes Lumber Co., American Agricultural Chemical Co., the Texas Co., Republic Creosoting Co., Reilly Tar & Chemical Co., Farmers' Guano Co. and Farmers' Cotton Oil Co., Robertson Chemical Corp., Norfolk Creosoting Co., M. Block (salvage), C. W. Priddy Co. (fertilizer), Swift & Co. (plant food division), Norfolk Tallow Co., International Agricultural Corp., Armour Fertilizer Works, Chilean Nitrate Corp., Southern States Norfolk Service (fertilizer),

Smith-Douglass Co.⁵ (fertilizer). Of all the above named, only the last is outside the city limits. There are other names which should be added to this list, and which do not show on the map mentioned: Nichols Fertilizer Corp., J. J. Joyce, Weaver Fertilizer Co., Cooperative Fertilizer Service, etc. There is also the Virginia Navigation Coal Co., which occupies a large site



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

SOUTH NORFOLK—PLANT OF LONE STAR CEMENT CORPORATION,
A SOUTHERN BRANCH TERMINAL

adjacent to the N. & W.'s Portlock Yard. Most of the fertilizer plants were originally concentrated in the area formed by a bend in the Southern Branch and called Money Point; this is where the Royster, Priddy and Swift plants are today. This place is said traditionally to have gotten its name from old tales of buried pirate treasure somewhere in the vicinity; whatever the origin of the name, it must be admitted that it is not inappropriate today in view of the valuable cargoes that are processed and shipped from its wharves.

With all this array of heavy industry, there is nothing of the grimy "factory town" about this progressive city. Its many miles of well-paved, tree-lined streets and the trimmed lawns and flowering shrubs surrounding its residences bear witness to the civic pride of its citizens. In addition there are several recreational areas which lend beauty to the city: Johnson Memorial Park in the heart of South Norfolk, Cascade Park with its athletic facilities, and Lakeside Park, so named for the artificial lake formed by

damming the head of Scuffletown Creek. This creek is now known as South Norfolk Basin and is a convenient stop on the Intracoastal Waterway between New York and Florida, which follows the Southern Branch to reach the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal. The population of South Norfolk was estimated in 1957 at well over 22,000.⁶

NOTES ON CHAPTER XIX

N.B. See remark at beginning of notes on Chapter I.

1. Map of Norfolk County, Virginia Department of Highways, 1 January 1950; Norfolk City Planning Commission map, January, 1951.
2. *Vide supra*, Chapters IX, X and XI, *passim*.
3. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 26 June 1940.
4. *Loc. cit.*; see also current directories (1957).
5. Norfolk City Planning Commission map, January, 1951.
6. *Loc. cit.*; see also *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, *loc. cit.* and 8 February 1959.

Chapter XX

The County of Princess Anne

1691-1957

By *Katharine Fontaine Syer**

AT THE END of Chapter X, we told of the division of Lower Norfolk County into two new counties in April, 1691. And at the beginning of Chapter XI we went into some detail as to the boundary between the two new counties of Norfolk and Princess Anne, before proceeding with the story of Norfolk County. The present chapter is concerned with an account of the separate existence of Princess Anne County from 1691; without belaboring the point too much, it should be pointed out again that the Act of 1691 mistakenly left a small triangle of Lynnhaven Parish (roughly defined by these three apices: the mouth of Broad Creek, the head of the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River and the present Norfolk City Water Works) in the bounds of Norfolk County. An Act of April, 1695 (as pointed out in Chapter XI) rectified this discrepancy, and made Princess Anne County, coterminous with Lynnhaven Parish; so that the line between the two counties as finally established was approximately the same as that laid out when the two parishes were established in 1639, two years after Lower Norfolk County was founded.

The dividing act of 1691 provided for a Court to be held in Princess Anne County on the second Wednesday of each month, and it is recorded that the following gentlemen composed the first Court held: Malachi Thruston, William Cornick, Benoni Burroughs, John Sandford, Argoll Thorowgood, John Thorowgood, Francis Morse, Evan Jones and Henry Woodhouse. And here are the names of some of those who held the important post of County Clerk in the early days of the County: Patrick Angus (1691-1700), Christopher Cocke (1700-1716), Charles Sayer II (1716-1740), Arthur Sayer (1740-1761) and Edward Hack Moseley, Jr. (1771-1814).

Princess Anne County was named for Anne, daughter of James II. In 1691, when Princess Anne County was formed, James had been deposed three years. The horrors of his reign were past and Mary, his eldest daughter, had been invited with her husband, William of Orange, to rule England. The time of tyranny was temporarily over, for William and Mary ruled well and England became a constitutional monarchy. Queen Mary was much loved, for she was a virtuous Queen. Her excellent example was soon followed by other women,

* See Foreword.

who began to turn from frivolity and idleness to more serious things. William was an advocate of full religious freedom, and beginning in the reign of William and Mary the people of England enjoyed an increasing measure of religious liberty and toleration.

Since the death of Queen Elizabeth periods of political and religious persecution had sent waves of Englishmen across the ocean to the New World. After the Duke of Monmouth failed in his attempt to take the throne from James II, Judge Jeffreys set out to punish all who had rebelled against the king. The fear of this Bloody Reign of Terror continued to fill ships from England. Princess Anne County was settled by many such refugees. They brought with them English manners, customs and traditions. To these foundations were added new ideas of economic and personal freedom which were to be the basis of government in the future United States of America.

The map of Princess Anne County today shows a continuous shore line of sandy beach on the north and east, with inlets or harbors at Little Creek, Lynnhaven River and Rudee Inlet. This was not always so. This sandy shore line has changed perceptibly in the last century and there are records of previous changes, some created by devastating storms and some man-made.

We have reason to believe that Lake Bradford and Lake Joyce were once part of a continuous waterway from Little Creek to Lynnhaven. For a time during the seventeenth century Lynnhaven River is said to have been landlocked at the present inlet. It is thought, as detailed in a previous chapter, that this inlet was the result of a canal cut by fishermen, who were seeking a more direct route from their homes to their fishing grounds. About four miles south of Cape Henry there is evidence of another old inlet. The highway stands in water here after heavy rains and the substrata on the beach indicates a river bed. One source writes concerning an old map found in the Library of Congress:

On the ocean side, midway between Cape Henry and Rudee, was marked Stratton's Creek. This map shows a continuous water route from Chesapeake Bay into Lynnhaven River, out Long Creek into Broad Bay (Batts Bay), into Linkhorn (Lincolne) Bay to Little Neck Creek, or perhaps Crystal Lake, to the ocean. That whole northeast corner of the Cape Henry Desert was completely cut off from the rest of the county . . . This map is dated 1695.¹

A little further south at Dam Neck the sand is very thin and there is no doubt but that Brinson's Pond, now called Lake Tecumseh, was another inlet and harbor. Further south still the Back Bay is separated from the ocean by a very narrow strip of sand, through which the ocean has broken many times.

It is a shame that the early settlers had to be so completely occupied with the business of survival that they did not keep diaries and write long letters to each other. The truth of the matter is that only a relative few could read

or write or sign their names, so we depend for most of our information about them upon Court records of their wills, land transfers, civil litigation as well as their illegal activities. The Colonial Vestry Book of Lynnhaven Parish (1723-1786) is a valuable record of their life and times.

These records are remarkably adequate in regard to the history of the people who settled around Lynnhaven River, but are sadly lacking as a record of those of Pungo and Back Bay. What we do know indicates very early English habitation around Pungo, perhaps made possible by long lost harbors. It is to be hoped that with increasing interest in historical research new information will turn up.

The land to which people belong always helps to form their character and to influence their history. The waterways of Princess Anne County gave protection from the sea, provided transportation and fed directly—and indirectly—many of her families. The good fertile land runs in ridges, with creeks or swamps between. These ridges run mostly from north to south. The best known is Pungo Ridge which starts in the northernmost part of the county at the mouth of Lynnhaven River and runs high and wide and fertile the length of the county in the Pungo section. Other ridge names are found in the earliest records, such as Poplar, Black Walnut, Chincapin, Long, Templemans, Possum, Beech, Brushby, Bullock's, Eastern, Cow Quarter, Porters, & Rattlesnake Ridges.² These ridges were ideal for farming. The subsoil was clay, suitable for bricks and the forests were full of trees. It was a land of plenty for those who could work hard and use its resources.

The first colonists being dependent upon water for transportation, the sheltered Lynnhaven was ideal for the first settlement. The first facilities for government and church were built at the entrance to Lynnhaven River on the western shore. This was property of Adam Thorowgood and was referred to by him as Lynnhaven. A half-century later we find evidence of a new civic center. There is a court order dated September 17, 1689, for the construction of a frame court house to be built on the Eastern Shore of the Lynnhaven River. Early deeds and court orders show this was a substantial settlement, called Eastern Shore Settlement, located near "the great branch" or north fork of Wolfsnare Creek, which was then good navigable water. This is north of present-day London Bridge. The settlement flourished before 1691 when the county was part of Lower Norfolk County and was the county seat for Princess Anne County when it was formed in 1691, leaving the other part of Lower Norfolk County called Norfolk County.

The third civic center developed shortly after this, for the Lynnhaven Parish Church at Church Point, on Adam Thorowgood's property was abandoned about 1692 and a new brick church was "required to be finished by the end of June 1692," at a new location.

This new settlement has had many names. In the nineteenth century

"Donation Farm" and "Dickson's" were used for the first time. "Witch Duck" is a much older name, and this was acquired when the Court met here and dispensed justice, which included the ducking of witches. Before this a ferry operated from this west side of Lynnhaven to the east side and the name Ferry Farm was used.

When the early settlers came to America from England during the seventeenth century, the persecution of witches was at its height in the western world. Witchcraft was a cult which was known as the "Old Religion" and the Christian Church was determined to wipe it from the face of the earth. Witches were usually old women. They sold themselves soul and body to Satan, and he conferred on them the power to turn themselves into cats or hares, to ride through the air on broomsticks and torture or otherwise punish their enemies. When a woman suspected of witchcraft was subjected to trial by water she "was stripped naked and cross bound, the right thumb to the left toe, and the left thumb to the right toe," and cast into a river or some other deep water, where it was believed she would not sink if guilty.

The last trial for witchcraft in England was that of Jane Wenham. She was charged with talking to the devil and was condemned to death at Hertford in 1712, but was not executed. The last execution in Scotland took place in 1722. The last execution in Europe was at Posen, Germany in 1793. In the American colonies the last execution was in New England (Salem) in 1692. However, as late as 1768, John Wesley wrote:

The English in general, and indeed most of the men of learning in Europe, have given up all accounts of witches as mere "old wives fables." I am sorry for it, and I willingly take this opportunity of entering my solemn protest against this violent compliment which so many that believe the Bible pay to those who do not believe it.³

The numerous trials revolving around witchcraft that took place in Lynnhaven Parish in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century were chiefly suits for slander arising from accusations of witchcraft; for, as early as 1655 the Lower Norfolk Court passed down a ruling that "Any one making charge against a person for witchcraft not proving same is liable to a fine of 1000 pounds of tobacco and further censure of the court." One of the first actions resulting from the above order was that in 1659, when Thomas Godby was fined "three hundred pounds of tobacco and caske" because his wife Ann had called Mrs. Robinson a witch and hurt her good name.⁴

At a Lower Norfolk County Court held the 15th of January 1678/9, John Samon complained against Alice, the wife of Thomas Cartrite, because of the death of his child whom Alice was believed to have bewitched. The next day a Jury of women, with Mrs. Mary Chichester, forewoman, reported they had "delegently Searched the body of the sd Alice [and] Cann fine noe Suspicious marks whereby they Can Judg her to bee a witch." Alice was acquitted.⁵

Ten years later in 1698, John Byrd and Anne, his wife sued Charles Kinsey "in an action of Defamation setting forth that the said Kinsey had falsely and Scandalously Defamed them, Saying that the said Anne did ride him from his house to Elizabeth Russells, and that by such his Discourse she was Reported and rendered to be a witch." They asked £100 damages with costs. The jury headed by Hugh Campbell, foreman, found for the defendant. John and Ann Byrd on the same day sued John Pitts who, they said, had defamed them by saying, "they had rid him along the Seaside & home to his own house." The Byrds lost this suit also, the jury finding for the defendant.⁶ The story of Grace Sherwood, the alleged (but not proven) witch of Princess Anne, is a combination of fact and fantasy. John White, her father, who was a carpenter and small landowner, lived near Pungo. His only daughter Grace married James Sherwood and they had three sons, John, James and Richard. The connection between Whites and Sherwood went back at least to 1680: in October of that year John White made a deed of gift to James Sherwood for fifty acres on Basnett's Creek in Lynnhaven Parish, probably his daughter's dower. Less than a year later (May, 1681) White died and left all his land—which was probably not much—to his son-in-law and also made Sherwood his sole executor. It is of passing interest that James and Grace sold a small part of her dowry to Captain Plomer Bray in 1690; it will be recalled that he was one of the witnesses to Nicholas Wise's deed for the Norfolk town land in 1682. The Sherwoods lived in peace and raised their family for eighteen years, if we may judge by the records; then their troubles began. In February 1697/8, a suit for defamation against Richard Capps was amicably settled and dismissed. But on 10 September 1698, the Sherwoods were plaintiffs in two suits for slander, one against John and Jane Gisburne, and the other against Anthony and Elizabeth Barnes. The Gisburnes had simply accused Grace of "bewitching their cotton," but the Barneses had cooked up a really fantastic tale: "The said Elizabeth did say the said Grace came to her one night and rid her and went out of the keyhole or crack of the door like a Black Catt." The same jury sat in both cases; they were Francis Sayer, foreman, Christopher Cocke, Otho Russell, Mark Powell, Thomas Walker, George Warrington, Robert Renney, Robert Richmond, John Keeling, Thomas Hall, Henry Spratt, and Adam Hayes. The Sherwoods lost both these suits, and James was obliged to pay six witnesses for four days against Gisburne (Martha Ward, Susanna Williams, John Lewis and wife, and Thomas Williams and wife Elizabeth) and three against Barnes (Owen MacGravy, Edward Barker and John James).*

*(Editor's Note) One thing about all these witchcraft trials stands out: We know so much about the activities of the Thorowgoods, Walkes, Moseleys, Cornicks, Keelings, Lawsons, Wishards, Woodhouses and Kempes, that it is interesting to learn something about the doings and the names of plainer folk of whom we know so little.

Grace Sherwood's greatest trouble came from one Luke Hill and his wife, who persecuted her unmercifully over a period of about nine months. First, because of some obscure grievance—real or imagined—Mistress Hill illegally invaded and trespassed upon the Sherwood property, and "assaulted, bruised, maimed and barbarously beat" Mistress Grace. On 7 December 1705, the latter brought suit against the Hills for £50 damage; she won the suit, but was awarded only 20 shillings (one fiftieth) and costs; Mark Powell was foreman of the jury in this instance: he had been a member of the jury which sat in the Barnes and Gisburne cases seven years earlier. The Hills were not deterred by such a weak reprimand, and in the following February (1705/6) made formal complaint and accusation in Court against Grace Sherwood on suspicion of witchcraft. A full hearing was held on 7 March with the following Justices present: Lt. Adam Thorowgood (III), Major Henry Spratt (II), Capt. Horatio Woodhouse, Mr. John Cornick, Capt. Henry Chapman, Mr. William Smith, Mr. John Robinson, Capt. George Hancock. The minutes of this Court noted that Grace Sherwood had long been suspected of witchcraft, and accordingly a Jury of women was summoned to search her because of this suspicion, to which she consented. The findings of this Jury indicated that their search resulted in finding on the body of Grace certain marks and spots which, in accordance with the popular belief of that day, indicated her guilt. The Jury was composed of Elizabeth Barnes forewoman, Sarah Norris, Hannah Dennis, Mary Burgess, Winifred Davis, Ann Bridges, Mary Cotle, Mary Watkins, Sarah Goodacres, Ursula Henley and Ezable [Isabel!] Waples. An alert defense attorney would today certainly have challenged Mistress Barnes on the grounds of prejudice; it will be recalled she and her husband had been involved in previous litigation with the Sherwoods.

Having obtained a positive verdict from the jury, the court in Princess Anne County still would not pass judgment on Grace, so in March, 1706, the determined Luke Hill carried his suit to the Attorney General at Williamsburg. Again he was disappointed, for this higher court refused to declare Grace a witch and sent the case back to Princess Anne County. Grace remained silent before her accusers. "It was held against her that she would not make any, or a little excuse to the charges."

After further examinations and hearings in May and June, 1706, in which Queen's Attorney Col. Maximilian Boush took part, the jury of women was summoned again, but refused to serve and its members were cited for contempt. At the same time the sheriff, under orders, searched the Sherwood house for images or objects of a suspicious or superstitious nature. The members of the County Court seem to have been genuinely anxious to bring the case to a conclusion one way or the other, and on Friday, 5 July 1706, it was decided—in the absence of a jury—to try the accused in the water by ducking (by her own consent), but on that day the weather was rainy and otherwise

inclement. So the trial was postponed until the following Wednesday for fear of possible danger to the victim's health!!! On Wednesday 10 July, accordingly, the "trial by water" took place, and the order was given that Grace should be ducked at a point on the river near John Harper's plantation. This is the place known today as Witch Duck, on the Lynnhaven River near Old Donation Church and Ferry Farm. People flocked to the river's edge from all parts of the county. The news of this trial had spread through all the Colony. One account of the ducking says the fields and woods along the river were black with people. Whole families came by wagon, cart and on horseback, by ferry and private boats.

In the "trial by water," there was small comfort to the accused; should the person ducked drown she would die innocent of the charge of witchcraft. If she used her wits and kept afloat until she could free herself, she was judged guilty of being a witch. Ironically, the Sheriff was enjoined to have "care of her life to preserve her from drowning." It was further ordered that she be searched before the trial to prevent her taking anything to aid her, and again searched afterwards for suspicious marks.

Grace was tied up in the customary manner "thumb of right hand to big toe of left foot and thumb of left hand to big toe of right foot." In this position she was thrown into the placid Lynnhaven River. Grace was able to keep afloat and the river judged her a witch. Apparently a complete report of the proceedings was not read into the Court records until September (1706). At that time it was recorded that she had "consented to be tried in water and searched again, which experience being tried and she swimming when therein and bound contrary to custom [!!!!] and in the judgment of all spectators and afterwards searched by five ancient women who have all declared on oath that she is not like them nor noe other women that they knew . . ." She was returned to the prison at the Court House near the Brick Church. It seems witchcraft was going out of style in Princess Anne for after a few years she was set free.

Nearly nine years after her first trial, on the 16th day of June, 1714, Grace Sherwood received a grant from Governor Alexander Spotswood "for one hundred & fourty four acres of land," for which she paid two pounds of tobacco for each acre.⁹ Grace lived in Princess Anne County upon her land between Pungo and Back Bay for thirty-four years after her witchcraft trial without any further record of trouble. She died in September of 1740, leaving her "one hundred & fourty four acres of land" and all she possessed to her son John, "excepting five Shillings to son James and five Shillings to son Richard." Since Grace was married by 1680, we may assume she was at least 40 at the time of the trial and past 70 when she died.

Much has been written and said about Grace Sherwood that is fanciful, even fantastic. For instance:

The memory of Grace Sherwood has been well preserved. Each generation has repeated the quaint folk stories which have gathered about her name, the most famous being that she sailed to England in an eggshell and returned with a sprig of rosemary and from that bit of the herb all rosemary bushes growing in Princess Anne County have come.

—W. H. T. Squires

And:

At Blossom Hill, Princess Anne County, the name given to the perennial blue lupine is "Witch Flower." No flowers were to be found blooming on the hill until Grace Sherwood, "witch of Princess Anne County," went to England in an egg shell and carried back a seed of the "Witch Flower." She left the county shortly after sunset and she returned with the seed sometime during the night, planting it just before the sun rose.

—Margaret J. Bratton

Blossom Hill was settled about the same time that Grace Sherwood was tried and found guilty of witchcraft.

Another teller-of-tales^{9a} writes:

She asked the Sherrif, when she was waiting to be hanged, if he would like to see something which he would never see again. She then sent a boy to a tavern to fetch two pewter plates which had never been washed. The boy, disregarding her instructions, dipped the plates into a rain barrel and after wiping them carefully took them to Grace. She banged them over his head and told him to go get two more and not to dip them in the rain barrel. When she received the new plates she asked that the rope be removed from her neck. Then she clapped a plate under each arm and flew straight over the heads of the crowd to her home.

In 1695 the Court had been moved from the Eastern Shore Settlement on the eastern shore of Lynnhaven to the section referred to as "Ferry Farm," which is near the present Old Donation Church. In the above-mentioned year there is a court order for a new Princess Anne County Court House to be erected "upon the land belonging to the Brick Church."¹⁰ The timbers of the earlier court house on Eastern Shore were shipped over to the new site.¹¹

We learn that in 1695 an attempt to establish a town was started by Argoll Thorowgood, the eldest grandson of Captain Adam Thorowgood. This was called "Lynnhaven Town" and some authorities think it was near Lake Joyce and Baylake Pines. However, there is a small map or plat of sixty acres in the Virginia State Library which is described as the outer bounds of Lynnhaven Town. This plat was drawn because of a dispute about the lands of John Richardson and Thomas Brinson on the north side of Princess Street and John Moseley and William Moseley on the other side of the same street, and Attwood's tracts at the extreme southwest corner of the survey. The plat

shows Princess Street crossed by King Street and Queen Street. The Lynnhaven River makes the complete northern boundary of this plat of sixty acres. This drawing is dated the 18th of October, 1760.¹² There are several references to the fact that the town had been laid off near the mouth of Lynnhaven River. Where can both of these requirements be met? Could it be that "Lynnhaven Town" was laid out by Argall Thorowgood in 1695 near "Ferry Farm" and the new "brick" church which had been finished in 1692, and the new Princess Anne Courthouse which was ordered to be erected in 1695? As there are few references to "Lynnhaven Town" in the old records, it is probable that the development was not very successful. One source states that in a very short time all the lots were owned by one or two persons. James Tenant owned a number of these for in his will made in 1771, he says "All my land at the Bayside, called Lynnhaven Town."^{12a} This section is called "Bayside" today. Among the origin lot owners were Adam and Robert Thorowgood, William and John Moseley, Ebenezer Taylor, Peter Malbone and William Heslett of Norfolk Town, Adam Keeling, Jacob Johnson, William Cornick, Francis Morse and Edward Attwood.

In Chapter V we told of the pirate ship *La Paix* and the fate of its crew when it was grounded and captured at Lynnhaven. After the conviction of the three pirates—Houghling, Franc and Delaunée—they were sentenced to be hanged and, in accordance with an ancient custom, the sentence was to be executed on or near the spot where the crimes were committed. Accordingly the following warrant of execution was issued:

You are to cause three Gibbets to be Erected in Your County of Cedar or other lasting wood, one at ye Cape One where John Hoogling was taken and one near the place where the Pyrates first ingaged his Majesties Shipp the Shoram which you may easily find out by inquiry in which Gibbets You are to cause the Severall Pyrates herewith sent to be hanged up vizt ffrancois Delaunee at the Cape Cornelius ffrank at the place where the Pyrates shipp first engaged his Majesties shipp the Shoram and John Hoogling at the place where he was taken. You must leave 'em hanging in a good strong Chaîne or Rope til they rott and fall away. All and every of these directions you are to observe and for so doing this shall be your warrant Given under my hand and Seal this 17th day of May, 1700.

Knowing *La Paix* was grounded at Lynnhaven, it is safe to assume Houghling's gibbet was at or near Lynnhaven Inlet, and Franc's between Lynnhaven and Cape Henry (this letter is only a guess); Delaunée, it is clear, was hanged at Cape Henry.

This was signed by the Sheriff of Elizabeth City County, acting upon authority delegated by Justice Hill of the Court of Admiralty. Within a few days, Houghling, Franc and Delaunée escaped and managed to get across the Bay to Accomack, where they were again taken. The inhabitants of

Accomack who aided in the capture of the pirates were rewarded for their efforts. The three men were returned to Princess Anne where they paid the penalty for their crime, being hanged in chains.¹³

While Alexander Spotswood was Governor of the colony, he began to think about the land west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Virginia claimed this land, but no settlers had gone there to live. There were two dangers from this direction: the French were interested in taking the land, and there was always the threat of Indian trouble. The Governor decided to cross the mountains and explore them himself. This was in 1716. The Governor met some of his friends at Germanna on the Rapidan River, a mining settlement just above Fredericksburg. There were nearly fifty men and more than seventy horses in the party. It was at Germanna that they shod their horses. These Tidewater gentlemen rode their mounts on sand and clay roads and had had no need for iron shoes until they started up the rock mountains.¹⁴ Two gentlemen from Princess Anne County went on this expedition: they were Captain Anthony Walke of Fairfield, near Kempsville, and Col. Edward Moseley of Rolleston.¹⁵ The first Walke who came to Virginia was named Thomas Walke. He came from the Barbadoes in 1662.¹⁶ He married Mary Lawson, daughter of Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Lawson. After his death in 1694, his executors purchased the estate which came to be known as Fairfield for his son, Anthony Walke. Anthony, being a very rich young man was able to build an establishment which was described not long ago as follows:

Mr. John I. Herrick, one of Kempsville's oldest citizens, just shortly before his passing, told us of "Fairfield," the almost baronial establishment of the Anthony Walkes, of the hugeness of the parlor, of the coat-of-arms over the handcarved mantelpiece in the dining room.¹⁷

Fairfield was unfortunately destroyed by fire a century or so ago. It was described in another place with somewhat exaggerated enthusiasm as follows:

The handsomest house ever erected in early days around the Lynnhaven was Fairfield. It was an extensive landed estate, distinguished for its retinue of liveried black servants, and the hospitality and splendor of its entertainments. It had the appearance of a village, from the number of ships and houses of different descriptions which were near it. These were occupied by blacksmiths, wagon-makers, saddlers, and mechanics of all trades imported from England, who taught the negroes, who practiced the trades.¹⁸

This Anthony Walke served his county both on the County Court and on the Parish Vestry. It was natural that he should have been chosen by Governor Spotswood for the western trip.

The story of the Moseleys has been related in a previous chapter. Each generation of Moseleys took their place in the government and church and

Colonel Edward Moseley, who was an officer in the County Militia, was a man of the same pattern. After he inherited "Rolleston" he married a widow, Mrs. Bartholomew Taylor, from Northampton County on the Eastern Shore. He was Justice of Princess Anne County, Sheriff and a member of the County Court that tried Grace Sherwood.¹⁹

Walke and Moseley were, therefore, members of Spotswood's westward expedition. The gay assemblage took along slaves to prepare camp and wait on them. They had guides and friendly Indians to show them the way. Each camp was named for one of the governor's friends. Eight days after they left Germanna they reached the top of the Blue Ridge at Swift Run Gap. After a long hard climb they saw before them the beautiful green meadows of the Shenandoah Valley. They saw the mountain the Indians called "Massanutten" and far to the west the Allegheny Mountains. A diary of one of the members of the party reads in part:

6th Sept. We crossed the river, which we called Euphrates [Shenandoah River]. We drank some healths on the other side, and returned. We had a good dinner and after it we got the men together, and loaded all their arms, and we drank the King's health in Champagne, and fired a volley, and all the rest of the Royal Family in claret, and a volley. We drank the Governor's health and fired another volley. We had several sorts of liquors, viz., Virginia red wine and white wine, Irish usquebaugh,* brandy, shrub, two sorts of rum, champagne, canary, sherry, punch, water, cider, etc.²⁰

After this experience it is difficult to understand how the good gentlemen stayed on their horses, or kept from becoming lost altogether!

Captain Walke and Colonel Moseley must have had a lot to tell when they returned to Princess Anne County after their adventures with the Governor and his company. In memory of the trip Governor Spotswood presented to each of his companions as a souvenir a golden horseshoe set with jewels; they thus came to be called the Tramontane Order or the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe. The horseshoes bore the motto, "Sic juvat transcendere montes," or "Thus it is a pleasure to cross the mountains." One of these golden horseshoes was exhibited in the New World Building at the recent Jamestown Festival.

Tobacco was the main crop of this section as long as the land was fertile enough to grow this demanding plant. There were many families who made their living from the sea, fishing and crabbing. The lower or southern part of the county supplied great quantities of pitch, tar and turpentine for the ship-building industries of Norfolk. Another interesting business developed in the county was the growing of flax on a commercial scale by the Murray family.

* From Old Irish *uisce beatha* ("water of life"), whence our word "whiskey." Cf. Fr. *eau de vie* and Sw. *aquavit*. (Ed. note).

On the western side of the county near the Norfolk County line about 1650, David Murray settled. His land was on the eastern branch of the Elizabeth River, and it was here that the great-grandson of David Murray, named Richard Murray, lived and operated the flax business. Early deeds refer to the flax pond on the Murray property. Flax was grown by the planters for their personal use, and household linen was woven on large plantations, but the Murrays' business was on a commercial scale.

The processing of flax includes growing in rich soil with weed-free cultivation, cutting of the plants, soaking in water until the fiber can be separated with a hackle, then drying the fiber and finally spinning it into thread. Flax by-products such as flaxseed and linseed oil were valuable exports also.

Richard Murray's manor house has continued its usefulness since 1738 when he built it, until the present day. Since 1903 it has been owned by the Shumadine family. The interesting outbuildings still remain and the root-and smoke-houses and the flax-drying house are unchanged. The kitchen house has been adapted by Mr. W. F. Shumadine into a bottling plant for his dairy.

Richard Murray built houses similar to his own for three of his sons. These four gambrel-roof brick houses grouped together bear witness to the industry of the Murrays who worked the flax pond long ago. These houses are visible from the Military Highway at the intersection of Indian River Road, and three of them are in excellent condition and still useful.²¹

An early shipyard was built on the branch of Elizabeth River, called Broad Creek. Here Thurmer Hoggard [I] had such a concern before the Revolutionary War. The beautiful Georgian house called "Poplar Hall" was his residence, probably built in 1761 or 1762. There was a primitive water-color of Poplar Hall done during the Revolution. It shows the ship-building ways with the old dock plainly visible, the saw pit where logs were sawed for shipbuilding, and "Poplar Hall" in the background. In the creek in front of the house is a British Navy barge with six "Redcoats" on it, and another craft of some kind bearing a fisherman or vegetable man with a basket of his wares on his head.

The name Hoggard is said to be of Welsh origin and was spelled Hogyrd. In the early 18th Century, Nathaniel Hoggard married a Miss Thurmer and including their son Thurmer Hoggard [I] there have been seven Thurmer Hoggards in Princess Anne, though not in a direct line.

Thurmer Hoggard [I] acquired his land by purchase, just before the Revolution. He was a ship's carpenter by trade and used this knowledge in developing his shipyard on his own acres. His success is attested today by his magnificent estate. His daughter Mary was wife of Charles Sayer [II], County Clerk from 1716 to 1740; Arthur Sayer succeeded his father in that office, 1740 to 1761.²²

In the early part of the eighteenth century, when the Court and the

Church were located on the western branch of the Lynnhaven, we find the vestry of the church attended to many matters which we consider the responsibility of government. These vestrymen supervised the relief and support of orphans, the aged and the poor. They levied on each taxable person a sum to be paid in tobacco to support the church, the glebe and the poorhouse. This was called a tithe and represented a tenth part of the yearly increase arising from the profits of land, stock, or personal industry, paid in tobacco to the church for religious or charitable uses.

The geographical divisions of the county are shown in the following order from the vestry book of Lynnhaven Parish for 20 November 1723.

It is this day agreed & concluded that the Several vestry men and persons hereafter named Collect and receive & they are hereby Impowered to Collect & receive on each Tythable person within their Several presincts in this parish the Sum of thirty & three quarter pounds of Tobacco & make payment thereof according to the direction of the above Leavy—Persons appointed to Collect the Said Leavy are Capt: Anthony Walke in the Eastern branch and Knots Island; Capt: Henry Chapman in Little Creek; Capt: Francis Land in the western Shore, Mr: will: Ellegood in the Lower presinct of the Eastern Shore; mr's: John Bonney's Senior & Junior or either of them in the upper presinct Eastern Shore; mr: willoughby Merchant in black water for this & the Last years Leavy's.²³

The Glebe land of the Church was just across the western branch of the Lynnhaven on the peninsula we call Little Neck. According to the old English law, every church was entitled to a house and glebe. The establishment of these was a prerequisite to the consecration of the church. This land was for the use of the parson and the church and in Princess Anne County was centrally located for the residents of Lynnhaven River, being between its Eastern and Western Branches. It was also accessible to the people of the Pungo and Knotts Island section, who did not travel by boat but came overland. The present road down the neck follows a very old one and twists and turns all the way from Lynnhaven Village to Keeling's Point. The end of the Revolutionary War saw the disestablishment of the Church of England and the confiscation of its properties. The new State government took them over and many of the duties that the vestry had handled now fell to the government of the State. At Sea Breeze Farm, the home of the Hills, near the end of Little Neck there are still some very old trees. No doubt they mark the site of the minister's home, which was last described as "an old dwelling house and a few outhouses, all in bad repair."²⁴

In January of 1738, a Colonel Brown was waiting in Hampton for the arrival of a ship which had left England in August. On board were his four children, as well as five hundred Swiss settlers bound for the Virginia Colony. This ship load of colonists was one of the largest to come over for many

years.²⁵ Colonel Brown must have spent some horrible days and sleepless nights for the *Virginia Gazette*, published in Williamsburg on January 12, 1738, reports on her fate as follows:

At last, we have an Account of their Arrival: with the following melancholly Circumstances, which we gather from Two Letters sent hither from Princess Anne County, and Hampton, and from some current Reports; That the said Ship arriv'd within the Capes of Chesapeak-Bay, on Wednesday the 3rd Instant, and came to Anchor in Lynnhaven-Bay; that the Wind blew very hard that Afternoon and Night at North West, which tis suppos'd drove her from her Anchor, and she was the next Morning discover'd stranded on the Shore in the said Bay, with water in her to her Upper Decks. Two thirds of the People were destroyed by the Wet and Cold and fifty of them were drowned between Decks . . . there are not above sixty alive; and those in so low a Condition, that its much doubted, whether some of them will recover. Among this Number is a Daughter of Colonel Brown's, (A Gentleman of Fortune, the Chief of this new Colony, who happened to take his Passage another Way, and arriv'd here about a Month ago;) this young Gentlewoman it seems was Speechless, and her Life in great Danger; Three other of his children who came in the Ship are like to do well.

When the Ship came within the Capes, the Wind was so fair, that if they had kept sail, instead of anchoring at Lynnhaven-Bay, they might have been safe at Hampton in about two Hours; but the People being almost famish'd having nothing to eat for several Days, insisted on the Captains coming to Anchor there, and going ashore to get Provisions. Accordingly the Captain and some of the Passengers went ashore, but it being an Island, and no House upon it, they walk'd about a long Time in vain.

The above reference to Lynnhaven Bay means what is today called Lynnhaven Roads, the water just outside or north of Lynnhaven Inlet, the present mouth of Lynnhaven River. The present designation Lynnhaven Bay, seen on modern maps, marks the wide estuary of the river and its Western Branch, which is not—strictly speaking—correct.

Quite near by was the well-developed community which had been growing on both sides of Lynnhaven River for over a hundred years. It is hard to conceive of such a situation today, when communication is a matter of harnessing invisible air waves. Those who survived the sea and reached the shore could find no shelter and about seventy of these were frozen to death on the beach and in the marshes, as they searched for houses and human aid. The survivors were cared for by the people who lived close by, who found them the next morning. Their saviors were probably named Keeling, Thorowgood, Cornick and Woodhouse, for the houses of these families are still standing within a few miles of where this ship lost its passengers and treasure.

The island referred to above reached from Stratton's Creek (Crystal Lake), which emptied into the Atlantic Ocean in those days, to Linkhorn Bay to

Broad Bay to Long Creek to Lynnhaven River and made an uninhabited sand island.

This island many years ago was a sand bar, but today it is a part of the mainland with Cape Henry jutting out into the ocean from its northeast corner. This cape has been marked with a lighthouse since 1791, when the first Congress of the United States ordered building of the lighthouse which is still standing. It was replaced with an iron lighthouse in 1881, which is used today.

For several miles around the lighthouses is Fort Story, a sub-installation of the Transportation Training Command, which has its headquarters at Fort Eustis near Williamsburg. This covers 1,394 acres of the old island.

The area adjacent to Cape Henry, and extending inland toward Broad Bay to the west and south, is a place of great scenic and natural beauty. It has been known for many years—and is still known—as “the Desert,” a term which may be misleading to the uninformed; for the word as here used simply means that it is unsettled or uninhabited, and in no way implies a barren waste land. As a matter of fact, this is one of the most naturally fertile spots on our shore or coast. This is where, among the sand dunes, the first English arrivals in 1607 saw springs of fresh water, tall pines and cedars. Here still today may be seen the sand hills, the tall trees, the fresh springs, as well as live oak, wax myrtle, wild blackberries, huckleberries and grapes, persimmon and sassafras, and many other growing things.

One of the earliest recorded references to this locality was in the form of a petition addressed in 1770 to the Governor and Council of State by certain inhabitants of Princess Anne County and others. In this document, reference was made to a certain “point of land called Cape Henry, bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the north by Chesapeake Bay, and on the west and south by part of Lynnhaven River and Long Creek . . . chiefly Desart Banks of Sand unfit for Tillage or Cultivation.” The area was said to encompass several thousand acres. It was pointed out that, for “many years past” (prior to 1770), the common fishing ground of the inhabitants of the County had been on the shore of the ocean and bay west of the mouth of Lynnhaven River; that the fishermen usually camped in the sand hills and obtained wood for fuel from the Desert, a thing which greatly contributed to the support of the petitioners and their families. The petitioners noted with alarm that several gentlemen had applied for patents of this land, and especially a certain Mr. Keeling* had surveyed a part of it near the mouth of Long Creek. A protest was registered that such patents would be of great injury to the fishery. In view of all the above circumstances, the petitioners requested that no patents be granted in this area and “that the Land remain

* This was Adam Keeling who died in 1771, the third by this name, son of Thomas Keeling (II); it will be recalled their homeplace, “Dudlies,” was near the mouth of Long Creek.

a Common for Benefit of the Inhabitants of the Colony in General for Fisheries and other public uses." Apparently the intervention of the Revolutionary War put an end to any further consideration of the matter at that time. It is to be noted that the map of 1781 (referred to several times in Chapter X) shows the legend "Desart Sands" to the southwest of Cape Henry.

Apparently the wishes of those early petitioners were respected; at any rate the fact remains that most of this area still remains public land today. Through the cooperation between the National Park Service and the Virginia Conservation Commission 3400 acres of it were developed and, on 15 June 1936, opened as the Virginia Seashore State Park. Woodland trails were cut through to give access to its beauty spots, cabins for vacationists were built in the woods and bathing facilities were provided on the beaches. The public is at present, unfortunately, being denied access to this scenic wonder, because of pending matters involved in the problems of segregation.

Ecologically, the Park is a transition zone. The variety of plant life is large, consequently. It is a giant test tube of sand and water in which the creation of Prehistoric times seems to occur before your own eyes. Geodetically, it is important in measuring the recession of our shoreline and the rise and fall of the ocean. Hemmed in by sand dunes, bound by the sea and inland bays, it is still a forest primeval. Few places in the eastern United States offer the variety of plants for botanists or naturalists who wish long-range study programs of five to ten years. Here, due in part to the proximity of the Gulf Stream, nature lovers can see an unusual variety of flora. This wilderness is the northernmost range of some plants; the southernmost range of others. The heart of this park lies as a protected amphitheater, rimmed by ridges and dunes approximately a hundred feet high. From the sand ridges that run through the park as well as around it, one looks down on the great swampy areas where the black cypress water reflects, like a mirror, the gray Spanish moss pendant from the giant cypress trees, or upon ponds filled with thousands of water lilies, or lakes where migratory birds rest. The Virginia Seashore State Park is remarkable also because it is so accessible, being in the fast developing suburban area of Princess Anne and bounded on the east by the city of Virginia Beach. Time and again, it has been eyed by land developers and other business men, but its irreplaceable value as a State Park has been recognized by the Commonwealth of Virginia.²⁶ For many years the sailing vessels would anchor off this so called desert and send small skiffs ashore with men to fill casks with cypress water found in the lagoons a short distance back from the beach. The cypress water, while dark in color, tasted good and remained fresh on the long voyages required of these ships.

It has been noted that the civic center of this County has changed its

location many times. It was previously pointed out that the first Eastern Shore Chapel was built of logs before 1689 on Wolfsnare Creek near an Indian village on the Eastern Shore of Lynnhaven River. This village was on the property now owned by the R. F. Trant family and was called Chesepiooc. The Indians had disappeared from this area by the time Princess Anne began its independent existence in 1691, and very shortly after that date the Court House which had been built in 1689 was removed across to the Western Shore. This new settlement which had both church and courthouse by 1695 and which should really have a name other than "Old Donation," was to have a short life as a center of government.

In 1697 a town had been established further south on the Eastern branch of the Elizabeth River. This was called "New Town." The population center was shifting but the Court House was not moved to "New Town" until 1758. There could have been many causes for the transfer. It has been attributed partially to the silting up of the Lynnhaven River after its entrance was changed. The Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River and the entrance to Broad Creek were and still are navigable. Another factor was the wealth and influence of the families that settled in the southwestern corner of the county. The Walkes of Fairfield, the Kempes of Kempe's Landing, the Moseleys of Rolleston and Greenwich, the Lawsons of Lawson Hall, the Hancocks, the Calverts and the Saunders of Pembroke and the Hoggards of Poplar Hall were all influential, and their homes were all in this southwest section.

New Town was built on land belonging to Colonel William Moseley. According to one source:

New Town's span of life was barely a century old but during this time it rose to the dignity of a Port of Entry with a Customhouse and a British Garrison. Here was located the third county Courthouse from 1758 to 1788. Here people of Norfolk took refuge when Lord Dunmore shelled and burned Norfolk in 1776.²⁷

Another authority adds the following details:

In 1697 the town of New Town, on the Eastern Branch was established by law, and fifty acres of land were laid off into two acre lots. In 1751 the courthouse, stocks and pillory were removed to New Town and there remained until 1778. James Nimmo taught school here in 1732—he was the church clerk and a vestryman for a long period, and the king's attorney from 1732 to 1752.²⁸

The following is a reference to early mercantile activity at New Town:

To Capt. Wm. Parsons, New Town. This / Sr. may Please to give mr. Fraasier of Maryland who maried the Daughter of one mr. Holland mother of wm. Bolithos daughtrs upon wch daughtrs acot. give them Credit in your Store at New Town for between forty & fifty Shillings at most, & take sufficient Receipt on this my noat wch shall oblige the paymt there by Novembr 25th 1735. Sr Yr Humb: Servt. Edw: Moseley.²⁹

This was the same Colonel Moseley who had joined Governor Spotswood on his westward explorations. By law no hogs were allowed to run at large in the streets of New Town, nor were wooden chimneys permitted. Indians were prohibited from coming into the town.

Of all the early townships, Kempsville, which grew out of Kempe's Landing, is the only surviving colonial village. It is a charming place with fine old trees which were saplings set out a hundred and fifty years ago. It still has gambrel-roof houses, copied after Colonel Moseley's Dutch style house, which are so typical of this southeast part of Virginia. It has Georgian houses too, with Pleasant Hall, the home of Peter Singleton the elder, an especially handsome brick home. Kempsville also has homes of the two-story "A" roof type, which were built at the turn of the eighteenth century many places in the county.

Kempsville was incorporated as a town in 1783. It seems that the founding fathers may have been busy with the activity of the Revolutionary War and the town was well developed physically a long while before the incorporation. There was a deep water landing there with a drawbridge; tobacco warehouses flourished on the banks of the canal.³⁰

When the court first came to sit at Kempsville the house of George Logan was used. A levy was laid at the December 1778 session of the Court for fixing up and making convenient Logan's dry goods store for use as a court-house, and a part of the wet goods store for the jail. The Revolution had been in progress three and a half years when the court was moved from New Town to Logan's in Kemp's Landing.

In April, 1775, the royal government in Virginia was dissolved and an independent government was organized by a convention that met at Richmond. This convention provided for the enlistment of an army for the protection and defense of the Commonwealth. A General Committee of Safety was formed, and this Committee was directed to select some qualified person to direct the organization of two regiments to number 1,020 soldiers each.

The Colony was divided into districts for the enrollment of "minute-men." Norfolk, Nansemond, Isle of Wight, Princess Anne, and the Borough of Norfolk were joined in one district. Each district had its Committee of Safety.³¹ The Committee for Princess Anne County was composed of the following gentlemen:

Anthony Lawson	Anthony Walke, Jun.
William Nimmo	William Keeling, Jun.
William Robinson	Erasmus Haynes
Christopher Wright	Dennis Dawley
James Kempe	James Henley
John Hancock	Tho. Old, Sen.
John Ackiss	James Tooley

Edward Cannon
William Hancock
Fred^k. Boush
Jacob Hunter
George Jamison

Cason Moore
Thomas Brock
Joel Cornick, Jun.
William Woodhouse³²

The Committees of Safety of the counties in this district were directed to appoint four members from each county and two for the Borough of Norfolk as deputies to meet in general convention for the purpose of fixing the number of minute-men to be enrolled in each county and borough. The minute-men, after being organized in companies, were trained twenty days in the place selected by the deputies, and, after being assigned to battalions, they were required to drill four successive days in each month, except the three winter months.

An ordinance to increase the military force was passed on Friday, the first day of December, 1775, which recited in a preamble that:

Whereas the Earl of Dunmore, by his many hostile attacks upon the good people of this colony, and attempts to infringe their rights and liberties by his proclamation declaring freedom to our servants and slaves, and arming them against us, by seizing our persons and properties and declaring those who opposed his arbitrary measures to be in a state of rebellion, made it necessary that an additional number of forces be raised, for our protection and defense.³³

This ordinance directed six additional regiments to be raised, and the officers and soldiers were required to take an oath, as follows:

I do swear that I will be faithful and true to the Colony and Dominion of Virginia: that I will serve the same to the utmost of my power, in defense of the just rights of America against all enemies whatsoever; that I will, to the utmost of my abilities, obey the lawful commands of my superior officers, agreeable to the ordinances of the Convention and the articles of war to which I have subscribed, and lay down my arms peacefully when required to do so, either by the General Convention or General Assembly of Virginia. So help me, God.³⁴

Later, in May, 1776, all magistrates were required to take an oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Virginia, and they were required to appoint officers to make a tour of their county to administer this oath of allegiance to all freeborn males above the age of sixteen years. The names of all who had subscribed to the oath were listed and returned to the court, and those who refused were not allowed to hold office, serve on juries, sue for debts, or purchase property.

Princess Anne County was to endure trying times. The territory was in constant danger from invasion, and every man was obliged to declare himself

for or against the cause of Independence. There were many Tories in the county, who were arrested and tried for treason. One Tory, in an argument with a patriot neighbor, justified his stand by maintaining that it was in the nature of man to be loyal as it was in the nature of the lower animals—that "even bees had a queen."

The poor, at this time, suffered greatly. Fathers and husbands had joined the standard of Liberty and their wives, children and aged parents suffered accordingly. Governor Patrick Henry appointed Cornelius Calvert to furnish aid to such dependents in Norfolk County, and it is probable that such aid was extended to those suffering in Princess Anne.

Because of their religious scruples, the Quakers in the district who were drafted, were unwilling to fight, and the law, recognizing their sincerity and respecting their adherence to the tenets of their faith, provided that they be exempt from military service by furnishing substitutes, to be paid by assessment on their church organizations.

Baptists and Methodists were not averse to fighting a common enemy, but antagonism between the two sects at that time was so great that they objected to fighting side by side in the same company or regiment. As a result, the Governor was empowered by law to enlist Baptists and Methodists in separate companies, with the right to elect their own company officers. When regiments were formed, field officers were appointed by the Governor from the same denomination as the officers elected by the companies.³⁵ This respect for religious beliefs and deep prejudices indicates great wisdom on the part of those in authority.

In early October, 1775, under cover of a British man-of-war in the Norfolk harbor, a British officer with a squad of soldiers and sailors wrecked the printing office of James Holt, a patriot editor. A few days later, on October 15, British troops were sent to Kempsville in Princess Anne County where they destroyed some firearms which had been stored there. Captain Mathews of the Minute-men was captured and his men dispersed.

In the State Library, at Richmond, there is preserved a memoir³⁶ of Mrs. Helen Reade, entitled "My Mother," written by the late William Maxwell from his mother's dictation. Mrs. Reade was the daughter of Maximilian Calvert. She was married first to Captain James Maxwell and second to Dr. John K. Reade. Her recital gives an eye witness account of this skirmish at Kempe's Landing. According to her testimony the encounter reflected little credit upon the minute-men. Lord Dunmore entered the town in triumph, and established his quarters at Mrs. Logan's, and Mrs. Reade states that:

. . . those who could not conveniently run away went at once and took the oath of allegiance . . . all who thus declared themselves on the King's side wore a badge of red cloth on their breasts, and the price of the article rose in the stores.

The Logans were Tories, as were many of the inhabitants of Princess Anne County, Norfolk and Portsmouth. Among them were many British merchants settled in the towns, in whose hands was much of the trade. They were compelled to leave the colony, or be taken into custody.

There was a second battle fought at Kempsville, on the 16th day of November, 1775, when Lord Dunmore again invaded Princess Anne. He surprised and defeated the militia, who were on the march to join the colonial troops for the defense of the Tidewater section of Virginia. Girardin states that about 200 men of the Princess Anne militia were attacked unexpectedly and compelled to engage under the double disadvantages of an unfavorable ground and inferior numbers. He wrote:

Supported, however, by inherent courage, and warmed by the justice of a noble cause, they, for some time, fought with great bravery and execution. At last the combined disadvantage, just mentioned, compelled them to retreat, which they did in perfect order.³⁷

A very different account of this battle is given in a letter, written November 20, 1775, by Robert Sheddon, a Tory, of Portsmouth. He stated that, at the first onset of the British, the shirtmen took to the woods in a most ignominious fashion. John Ackiss, one of the minute-men was killed in this encounter and Colonel Joseph Hutchings and Colonel Anthony Lawson, with several others were captured. In this regard the following comment has been made:

It is worthy of note that while their men seem to have done little credit to themselves, Colonels Hutchings and Lawson stood their ground.³⁸

The following month, December, 1775, plans were proposed for the exchange of prisoners, and the following correspondence between Lord Dunmore and Colonel Robert Howe of the American troops is of interest:³⁹

Ship Dunmore, Dec. 25, 1775

Sir:—

I have this moment received yours of the 24th and in compliance with your request have empowered the bearer, Mr. Lawrie, to agree to any one of your Lieutenants in our custody being exchanged in place of Mr. Batut, Lieutenant of the 14th Regiment, and an equal number of your privates in lieu of those of the 14th with you now.

Your most ob'dt humble serv't.

Dunmore

To Robert Howe, Esquire.

Colonel Howe was far from being in agreement with Lord Dunmore's proposal. His reply was as follows:

Norfolk, Dec. 25, 1775

My Lord:—

Desirous as we are to regain our friends in your custody and to return to the army the officers and men of their corps who have fallen into our hands, we can by no means submit to place the officers and soldiers of the army, who have been taken in battle upon a footing with those officers of Militia and the peasants that you have thought proper to deprive of their liberty. We have, since our march from the Great Bridge, taken a number of those who were in action at that place, among them, some who acted under your commissions as field officers; those I conceive may be equitably exchanged for those of the same rank in your hands; and, reluctant as I am to continue in confinement either your prisoners or ours, I shall consent to no exchange but such as equity shall warrant.

I beg leave to refer you to Mr. Lawrie for particulars. I should be glad to be favored with a list of the prisoners you have in your hands, the rank they bear, and the manner in which they were taken.

I am, My Lord, your Lordship's most Ob'dt, humble Serv't,
Robert Howe

To His Excellency, Lord Dunmore.

Ship Dunmore, Dec. 26, 1775

Sir:—

Yours of last night I received and really am at a loss to know what your meaning is; you certainly, when you proposed an exchange of prisoners, could never have meant to pay your own people so poor a compliment as not to look upon those whom the Convention thought proper to appoint to hold military commissions in any other light than officers; those you talk of as officers of Militia and Peasants, whom you say I have thought proper to deprive of their liberty, come under that predicament, and were taken armed against their liege Sovereign.

If the rank of officers is not to be our guide, I own I am at a loss to know what rule we are to be governed in exchange of prisoners.

I am Sir, Your humble servant,
Dunmore

To Robert Howe, Esquire.

Norfolk, Dec. 27, 1775

My Lord:—

I was not understood by Your Lordship last night and it gives me concern. You do me justice, however, when you suppose I could not mean, even by implication, to degrade any commissions issued by Convention, whose authority I acknowledge, whose appointment I honor, and to whose service I have devoted myself.

I am, I find, obliged to inform your Lordship of what I really thought you before acquainted: that Conventions, from the fatal necessities of the times, have been compelled to establish three military bodies; Militia, Minute

Battalions, and Regular Regiments, and that they have made a distinction in the rank of each. What I said, therefore, in respect to militia officers was not without propriety had my meaning extended no further than as to their rank. You, My Lord, sometimes affect so much to despise any rank derived from Conventions that courtesy itself cannot induce you, even in the common forms of address, to admit those appellations which they have fixed to particular characters. Circumstances, however, at other times, have so far an influence upon Your Lordship as to prevail upon you not only to admit that rank, but to endeavor to carry it higher than even the Conventions intended.

A Colonel in the Minute Service ranks only with a Lieutenant Colonel of the Regulars; a Colonel of Militia only with a Lieutenant Colonel of Minute Men. This must make it plain that a Militia Lieutenant, though your Lordship had taken him in battle, can not be deemed an equitable exchange for a Lieutenant of Regulars. . . . The Convention, in order to establish a Militia, have appointed Captains in particular districts to train and exercise in arms all from 16 to 60 years of age without instructing them to act against Government; these may meet and go through the manual exercise and then return home without the least guilt. Six months later, should some or all of these people be taken from their ploughs, made prisoners, and offered in exchange for those who are prisoners of war, could an officer be justified who admitted of such an exchange? or would you, My Lord, should we seize upon the person of the peasants who come into this town every day, and who attend to your Proclamation and subscribe to your Test, admit of them for exchange for our officers and men, who you assert were taken in Arms?

Colonel Howe concludes with the statement of several other pertinent facts. He does not say to Lord Dunmore, however, that in the event that should he (Colonel Howe) ever become a prisoner of Lord Dunmore's, his rank would be considerably above that of "esquire" for purposes of exchange.

It is not probable that conditions of exchange were settled at this time, as Colonels Lawson and Hutchings were not released, but were sent as prisoners to east Florida on the "Otter, man-of-war, Captain Squire," one of the vessels which participated in the bombardment of Norfolk.

Later in 1775, the following resolution was passed:

Journal of the Committee of Safety for Virginia

On considering a verbal proposition, formerly made by L'd Dunmore to this Comm'ee, del'd by Colo. Alex'r Gordon, for the exchange of prisoners:

Resolved that the following proposal for such an exchange be sent to his Lordship by the commanding officer in ye neighborhood of Norfolk, viz: Colo. Alx'r Gordon and Colo. Jacob Ellegood for Colo. Anthony Lawson and Colo. Joseph Hutchings.

This exchange was evidently satisfactorily concluded in regard to Colonel Lawson, as the records of the Committee of Safety contain the following copy of a letter from the Governor of East Florida:

East Florida

(Seal) By his Excellency, Patrick Tanyon, Esq., Captain-General Governor and commander-in-chief in and over the Province.

Permission is hereby given to Anthony Lawson, Esq., to pass from hence to Virginia, he being upon his Parole to release or cause to be released, at the desire of the Earl of Dunmore, any person or Prisoner there, otherwise to deliver himself up again.

Given under my Hand and Seal at St. Augustine, this twenty-third day of November, 1776.

Pat. Tanyon

To all whom it may concern.⁴⁰

Colonel Jacob Ellegood, referred to in the above exchange of prisoners, was a Tory.* He was a third generation resident of this vicinity, and his home was "Rose Hall" in Great Neck on the land possibly formerly occupied by an Indian village, Chesepiooc. At the end of the Revolution he was forced to leave Princess Anne, and he moved to New Brunswick, Canada. From his home in New Brunswick in 1801, he made his will, leaving "Rose Hall" plantation to his friend, Colonel Anthony Walke, his brother-in-law, John Saunders, and to two of his sons, Jacob and John Saunders Ellegood. In 1803 the property was sold to a younger son, William Ellegood. "Rose Hall," at the present time is owned by Mrs. Reuben Trant.**

Colonel Anthony Lawson [IV] was born in 1729 and died in 1785. He was the son of Thomas Lawson, of "Lawson Hall," Princess Anne County. His home had been built by his great-grandfather, Lieut. Col. Anthony Lawson [II] in the late seventeenth century. His wife was Mary Calvert. Colonel Lawson was a lawyer and had held the office of Justice of Princess Anne County, Sheriff, and vestryman of Lynnhaven Parish as well as Churchwarden. He has many descendants living today in Princess Anne, Norfolk and Portsmouth. "Lawson Hall," rebuilt (but not restored) since its burning about 1890, is today the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Laird.

The Tories of Princess Anne County were naturally regarded as detrimental to the welfare of the area, and in April, 1776, the Committee of Safety of Virginia had ordered the removal of a large part of the population. The Committee of Safety for Princess Anne, in May, sent a petition to the State Committee, in behalf of themselves and the inhabitants of the county, setting forth the distresses and ruin which must attend them from the carrying into execution of the order, and praying that it might be revised or rescinded. The State Committee upon consideration of the petition, appointed

* His father Jacob Ellegood, Sr., was son of John Ellegood of the Borough of Norfolk, churchwarden there in 1734/5 and Alderman in 1736.

** This is the original "Rose Hall" north of Wolf Snare and west of Great Neck Road. In recent years the name has become erroneously connected with the Francis Land house (c. 1750) near Lynnhaven Village. [Editor's Note]

William Robinson, Thomas Reynolds Walker, Thomas Old, John Thorowgood, James Henley, Erasmus Haynes and William Wishart, Gentlemen, or any four or more of them to assemble themselves and make strict inquiry into the temper and former conduct of the inhabitants of the said County of Princess Anne, and certify to Major General Lee, or the commanding officer at Suffolk, or its neighborhood, which of them had taken an active part in behalf of the cause of independence, which had remained quietly at home without taking an active part on either side, and which had appeared inimical to that cause, after which investigation the commanding officer was desired to suffer such as had been friends or neutrals to remain at their habitations with their families, but to remove all their live stock except such as the commissioners, above named, should judge to be necessary for their subsistence, but that all the enemies of America be compelled to remove, with their families and effects, according to the former resolution.⁴¹

More than a year later, in the summer of 1777, the counties of Princess Anne and Norfolk were subject to the depredations of a band of Tory banditti, under the leadership of Josiah Philips. Philips was a laborer of the parish of Lynnhaven, in Princess Anne County. He was a man of great daring and ferocity and his band was composed of men of like calibre. They spread fear and desolation throughout the two counties, committing cold-blooded murders, burning houses, wasting farms and perpetrating other outrages. The inhabitants of Norfolk and Princess Anne sent representatives to the Governor, asking for protection. As a result an act was passed by the Virginia Legislature giving Philips a reasonable but limited time to surrender himself to justice, and to submit to a trial by his peers, according to the law of the land. A refusal would be considered a confession of guilt, and would divest him, as an outlaw, of the character of citizen.

Philips did not come in before the day appointed, but continued his depredations, and was finally captured. The attorney for the Commonwealth charged him as a murderer and robber. He pleaded that he was a British subject, authorized to bear arms by a commission from Lord Dunmore, that he was, therefore, a mere prisoner of war, and under the protection of the law of nations. The court, maintained that a commission from an enemy could not protect a citizen in deeds of robbery and murder. Philips was found guilty by the jury, sentenced by the court, and executed.⁴²

Benedict Arnold, after his treachery at West Point, New York, was commissioned by the British and during the latter part of the war was stationed in Portsmouth. Under his direction a map of Princess Anne, Norfolk and Nansemond Counties was made, which is a valuable contribution to the history of the period. It is interesting to note how many of the old names still remain: Cape Henry, Lynnhaven Inlet, London Bridge, Dam Neck, North Landing, Kemps (Kempsville), Linkhorn Bay and North River are all

there. Dwellings are also marked on the maps. It is interesting to note that the area in the Seashore State Park is marked as "Desart Sands," and the lower part of the county as "Arable Land."

The General Assembly at Williamsburg on October 20, 1777 (the capital was not moved to Richmond until 1779) passed an act for recruiting Virginia regiments for the Continental line. Congress had made Virginia's portion 8,160 rank and file. Some of the state troops were transferred to help make up the complement, besides a certain number of single men who were drafted from the militia. Each draftee received a bounty of \$15.00 on being enrolled.

Another act for raising additional battalions for the Continental line required fifteen to be furnished by Virginia, and offered a bounty of 100 acres of land for every non-commissioned officer and private; 150 acres for an ensign, 200 acres for a lieutenant, 300 for a captain, 300 for a major, 400 for a lieutenant-colonel, and 500 for a colonel.

An Act passed in May, 1778, offered as an inducement to enlist, a bounty of \$30.00 and a complete suit of regimentals consisting of "a coat, jacket, one pair of breeches, two pairs of shoes, two pairs of stockings, two shirts, and a hat; to be served with one gill of spirits per day until January 1, 1779;" also they should be exempt from drafts and taxes for twelve months after discharge.⁴³ Many officers and enlisted men of Princess Anne, who survived the war, received home sites in lieu of pay, by these acts.

During the periods when the actual conflict was removed from this area, the farmers were doing their utmost to furnish food for the armed forces. In 1781, Governor Nelson reported that the French, at Yorktown, were adequately supplied with meat from Princess Anne and Norfolk Counties.⁴⁴ While the number of regiments and the names of officers, soldiers, and sailors of Virginia in the Revolutionary War have been preserved in the archives of the State, there is no mention, on the roll, of the counties from which the soldiers enlisted, and consequently, it is impossible to obtain the number, and few of the names, of the soldiers from Princess Anne. There is little doubt that Princess Anne furnished her quota, for the court records of the period refer again and again to many companies in which particular soldiers enlisted.⁴⁵

When the war was over the people returned to civilian life under the democratic form of government. The following polls were held in 1789 in Princess Anne County:

Poll for the election of an elector to choose a President for the new constitution.

A poll for the election of a delegate to Congress, Feb. 1789.

A poll, opened 9 April 1789, for the election of a senator for the district of Nansemond, Norfolk & Princess Anne counties. There follows a list of

many names; after each one the poll keeper, Peter Evans, has added his own descriptive remark. For instance:

Thos Cannon, squints
Reuben Douge, very long
Thos Lovett Sr., pork maker
Jno Smith (son of Deaf Jno)
Robt. R. Keeling, some doubt
Abel Camonds, very old
Wm. White, lame of the gout
Thos Bonny, don't know him
Peter Singleton, alis Czar

A poll, 9 April 1789, for the election of a representative for the assembly of this Commonwealth.⁴⁶

These polls were a new experience for the new citizens of the new United States. It seems there were many who did not appreciate their privilege for about this time a list of scores of persons was presented by the Grand Jury "for not voting at the late Election for delegates to serve the County."

There is much of historical interest in the old town of Kempsville. A short distance from the crossroads on the south road there is a small "A"-roofed house which was one of the out buildings of Fairfield, the estate of the Walkes. This is the oldest building around Kempsville and probably dates from the late seventeenth century. Kemp's Landing was a trading post at this same early time and the Walkes owned many vessels that sailed from England to Barbadoes and Virginia. They were responsible for its first growth.

The old brick courthouse stands a block off the main west to east highway which winds up from the old landing place. The walls of the courthouse are sturdy and could again be serviceable but it is crowded today with weeds and vines. This empty shell must echo with the ghosts of those who pleaded justice for the citizens of the Royal Colony of Virginia and also those lawyers of the new democratic government. It was prior to 1789 that the courthouse was moved from New Town to this building.⁴⁷ At about the same time pillory and stocks and a jail were built. The jail built in 1782 was of wood and was not too successful. There are repeated court orders for repairs and reinforcement of the windows. Also, day and night a guard was employed at nine pounds of tobacco for each detail. This jail burned for there is a court order for salvaging the nails.⁴⁸

The brick jail which survives today was built in 1787. The specifications for its construction are very detailed and the court order leaves no doubt as to the exact time of the construction of the jail.

Still standing in Kempsville is "Pleasant Hall," the home built by Peter Singleton. This is the same Peter Singleton called by the poll keeper, "alis

Czar." This Peter Singleton was a Justice of the County Court before the Revolution, a churchwarden of the Parish Church as well as vestryman. Old court records show that he lent money, gave bail and was addressed as "gentleman." He was loyal to the cause of the Revolution, although the community in which he lived was pro-royalist.

Peter Singleton, I, built his fine Georgian brick house in 1779, for there is a brick in the wall of the basement with the date April 19, 1779. This means he built his home during the Revolutionary War. It is truly a mansion and in excellent condition. There are enormous H. & L. hinges on the doors, and the woodwork all through the house is noteworthy. In the parlor there is a built-in cupboard with butterfly shelves and especially beautiful is the panelled mantle with handsomely carved Corinthian capitals. "Pleasant Hall" is one of the finest of the old houses of the late Georgian period.

Across the street from "Pleasant Hall" on the south of the main highway are three very old houses. The first is next to Emanuel Episcopal Church, of which it is the rectory. This house may have been built in the late seventeenth century. Today it is a altered gambrel-roof house. Next to it is another gambrel-roof house so surrounded by additions that it is hard to find the original house. These two houses are of the typical Princess Anne County style, which is said to have started with the Cavalier, William Moseley, as before noted. Next on the west is a reconstructed brick house of the early eighteenth century, which was moved from close by in the county.

To the east of "Pleasant Hall" is the place called the "Victory Ball House." It was in this corner house, which belonged to Frederick Boush (already mentioned as a member of the Committee of Safety for Princess Anne County) that the victory over England is supposed to have been celebrated. Just behind Boush's house and directly in line with the Courthouse and jail was a famous tavern kept by Billy White. There are many records which mention Billy White and a reconstruction of his life would make an interesting history of the times. He seems to have been an active and colorful individualist. Mrs. Reade, who wrote about the first skirmish at Kempsville also tells of a real "cloak & dagger" experience while staying at Billy White's Tavern, on the evening of the day Dunmore occupied the town. Mrs. Reade and her sister, Mrs. Marsden, had rooms opposite each other on the second floor of the Tavern. Mrs. Reade wrote:

When I entered the house (the Tavern), I found it filled with refugees, some of whom knew me and was disposed to be very polite. They had a rousing fire below, and were very merry. My sister, and I both went up and retired to our chambers. Soon, afterwards, a servant girl came in to say that there was some one at the bottom of the garden, wanting to see me, and, she added he says you must come to him directly. And, who is it? said I. Why he told me not to tell anyone, said she, but, he says he is your husband. So

I followed the girl, and there I found Mr. Maxwell. I told him, of course, all the occurrences of the day. Well, said he, I see that I must still keep out of the way, for I am determined not to join Lord Dunmore in any event. Well, said I, but at least, you can be safe here to night, and you can come in privately and spend it with me, and tomorrow you may be off again. Well, said he, I believe I will take your advice. So we went in together, and shortly afterwards retired to rest. Not long afterwards, however, I saw by the light of the moon shining into the room, two tall grenadiers, armed cap-a-pee, come in and make directly for the bed where he lay. In an instant Mr. Maxwell was up, and demanded, What do you want? Hush! said one of the men, Hush or you are a dead man. Still Mr. Maxwell persisted. What do you want, I say? Leave the room this instant, or, your officers are below, and I will call them up. At this the fellow made a pass at him with his bayonet, which went through his shirt and even grazed his breast, and, turning then, they made for the door, and ran down stairs, and Mr. Maxwell after them. At this, I rose also, for I thought they had gone into my sister's room, and drawing on my gown, followed the chase, making but one step from the top to the bottom of the stairs. Here, I found my sister and several of the refugees with lights crying, What's the matter? Mr. Maxwell pointed to a hoisted window and said, I saw the rascals go out of that window.⁴⁹

It takes little imagination to visualize Kempsville of Revolutionary times, for so much of that town is still there, the old houses and court building and fine old trees.

In 1824 the Courthouse was moved again. The site chosen was then called Cross Roads and is known today as Princess Anne Court House. This change made the Kempsville Courthouse available for use as a Baptist Church, and the jail was used for a school house.

The late Judge B. D. White wrote of Kempsville:

Kempsville was, for a number of years, an educational center, the ancestors of many of the prominent families of the county and the City of Norfolk, attended its academy. This school continued until 1850.

At this same time a turnpike road was advocated from Kempsville to Norfolk and a number of prominent citizens were incorporated to construct the same. It was not until 1871, after the War, that the turnpike was completed.

A canal company was also incorporated to connect the headwaters of the Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River with the headwaters of the Lynnhaven River; this was begun and partially dug, the State taking part of the stock in the company, but the War put at end to the company and the canal was never finished.

Prior to this tugs and two-masted schooners came to Kempsville, the small bridge over which you now pass in entering the town had at that time a draw for the passage of vessels. Several large warehouses lined the banks of

the river. Great quantities of oak "knees" (used in the hull construction of wooden ships) and timber of all kinds were shipped from here to the Norfolk Navy Yard (in Portsmouth). It was the shipping point for most of the products of the county, then a very large corn and wheat-growing section.⁵⁰



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

PRINCESS ANNE COUNTY—CAPE HENRY LIGHTHOUSE
THE FIRST ONE CONSTRUCTED BY U.S. GOVERNMENT (1791)

As the eighteenth century closed, the gigantic conflict between Great Britain and Napoleon led to a fierce commercial struggle in which the United States became vitally involved. Napoleon had closed the European ports under his control to British goods. In retaliation, the British government issued various Orders in Council, forbidding neutral vessels to trade at any port which was closed to the British flag, unless such vessels had first touched at a British harbor and had paid duties to the British government. The action of both belligerents was in flagrant violation of international law. As Jefferson said, "England seemed to have become a den of Pirates and France a den of Thieves." These policies seriously menaced the fast-growing commerce of the United States.

A second cause of the War of 1812 was the impressment of American seamen. Great Britain did not recognize the rights of naturalization. Her theory of citizenship was "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman." Accordingly her naval commanders had strict orders to stop and search neutral ships for so-called deserters. It was difficult to prove citizenship while at sea, and hundreds of Americans had been forced to serve on British ships.

These outrages culminated June 22, 1807, in the unprovoked attack by His Britannic Majesty's ship, *Leopard* on the American frigate, *Chesapeake*, soon after the latter had passed Lynnhaven Roads on her way between the Virginia Capes. The attack was made because the American commander, James M. Barron, refused to permit his vessel to be searched for deserters. Three Americans were killed, eighteen were wounded and three Americans were taken on board the British ship. After five years of fruitless negotiation, President Madison sent a war message to Congress, and on June 18, 1812, war was formally declared.

Princess Anne and Norfolk Counties were constantly menaced by the fleets of Great Britain. On 4 February 1813, Admiral Sir George Warren's fleet was anchored in Lynnhaven Roads, and all the ports and harbors of Chesapeake Bay were declared in a state of strict blockade. The fleet arrived between one and two o'clock and consisted of two line-of-battle ships, three frigates and a tender. The Admiral sent boats as far in as Willoughby's Point, which he recalled by firing a gun from his ship. The county militia established themselves to defend their county and their homes. The Pleasure House on the Bay Shore was their headquarters. Colonel William Sharp was stationed at Norfolk and did his best to acquire means to defend the area. On February 6th Colonel Sharp wrote to Governor James Barbour:

. . . I rece'd a letter by Express from Bay Shore (Pleasure House). . . . The enemy . . . were joined last night by two other frigates. They yesterday evening burnt a schooner and sent the crew on shore. . . . Princess Anne is badly off . . . a great portion of their arms unfit for service. No ammunition (of account) for muskets and none for cannon.⁵¹

Admiral Warren was reported to have landed at Cape Henry for the purpose of procuring wood and water, and the Governor ordered out 3,000 men and the legislature of the Commonwealth voted \$300,000 for immediate defense. At this time there was no landing of a fighting force, but the American schooner, *Lottery*, under Captain Southcomb, bound from Baltimore for France, in going out of the bay was discovered by the squadron. After a desperate action the schooner was captured and a number of Americans were killed. The Captain was severely wounded and died of his wounds. Captain Byron, of the British ship *Belvidera*, returned Captain Southcomb's body to the Americans in a neat mahogany coffin, with a note to Captain Charles

Stewart, of the American ship, *Constellation*, extolling the courage of the dead captain, and commending the gallant manner in which the *Lottery* had been defended.

One of the many interesting place names in Princess Anne County commemorates the War of 1812. During the war a British frigate anchored off what is now Virginia Beach, and an amphibious landing took place. A party of English sailors marched inland for about a mile, where they were met by the County militia and repulsed. The coast was bombarded and cannon balls fell in the area now known as Seatack, the name being derived from "Sea Attack."⁵² The part of the coast now called Virginia Beach, was called "Seatack" for more than half a century, and the first life-saving station, built near what is now 24th Street, in 1878, was called Seatack Station.

The stealing of negroes by some of the British and the cruel manner in which they were taken from their homes aroused general indignation in this area. Captain Lloyd, of His Majesty's Ship *Plantaganet*, was notorious in this practice. The return of peace in Europe, in 1814, removed the causes of the war and both England and the United States were glad to end a conflict which had brought no great glory to either. The treaty of peace was signed at Ghent on Christmas Eve, 1814.

The fifth courthouse was built in 1824, and in the adjoining clerk's office are the county records from its inception in 1691 to the present. This is the courthouse still in use today. It was established at this cross roads so as to be located in the center of the county. When the court moved here there were many old houses near the cross roads. A tavern was built and later a railroad ran from Norfolk through the Cross Roads to the lower county. Some of the older 18th century houses are being restored, others that are standing will soon fall into decay. Today at Princess Anne Court House the old courthouse building and its jail are assisted by a more modern jail, an enlarged Clerk's Office and other county buildings which have been needed in recent years. Some of the beautiful trees that once surrounded the courthouse remain. Gone are the small buildings used as lawyers offices until a short time ago. The Confederate monument erected to those from the County who gave their lives is on the Court House Green.

The history of the churches of Princess Anne County parallels the history of her court towns. In early Princess Anne the Established Church of England was the most important. In fact, the Church and the Government were so close that the Church and the Court House were usually built side by side, and frequently the same gentlemen were vestrymen and court officers. The laws were strict about tithing, baptism and church attendance, but church-going was not limited to the Church of England. From the earliest times dissenters were present and although people were required by law to attend

church, the Act of Toleration of William and Mary permitted them to attend the church of their own choosing.⁵³

As noted in a previous chapter, the Lynnhaven Parish Church was first located at Church Point (near Bayville Farms). It was accessible to the early families who lived near the mouth of the Lynnhaven River, who traveled for both business and pleasure by boat. As the families spread out over the county it was recognized a hardship for the outlying settlers to attend the Parish Church. This resulted in smaller local churches being built, which were known as "chapels of ease." The parish minister visited the chapels when he could, but the clerk of the chapel usually read the service and the sermon.

The first chapel of ease (of which there is very little record) was on the Southern Shore of the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River. A second Eastern Branch Chapel was standing in 1700 and was described as the "chapel for the Eastern Branch Precinct" of Lynnhaven Parish.⁵⁴ This chapel was on the opposite shore of the Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River near the "New Town" on the east side of Hoskins Creek. However, the Colonial Vestry Book of Lynnhaven Parish, dated 1723 to 1786, makes no mention of the Eastern Branch Precinct chapel.⁵⁵

This old vestry book opens with the appointment of clerks for the brick church (which is the second Lynnhaven Parish Church of 1692 built near the present Old Donation Church) and for two chapels. The chapels are not named specifically although later entries call them upper and lower chapels. By 1725, the two chapels are identified as Eastern Shore Chapel, or the lower chapel, and the Machipongo or Pungo Chapel, or the upper chapel. They were located respectively in the upper and lower precincts of the Eastern Shore of Lynnhaven.

The Parish Church and two chapels served the needs of the members of the Established Church with the help of reading places in private homes in the Blackwater and Knotts Island section,⁵⁶ until the upheavals of the Revolutionary War, when, according to the Vestry Book of Lynnhaven Parish, they had no regular ministers from the beginning of the War until the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia was established in 1785.

Legally there had been no connection between the State and Church in Virginia since Virginia became a state, but historically the connection existed until the 24th of January, 1799. Some contend that it existed until May 1804, when the failure of the Court of Appeals to reach a decision, affirmed the decree of Chancellor Wythe in the Manchester case, that the Glebe Lands might be sold. Robert R. Howison in his *History of Virginia*, Vol. 2., p. 205, says, "It was not until 1840 that an absolute separation of state and Church was effected in Virginia." and his opinion is impliedly accepted by Sanford H. Cobb in his "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," p. 512. The last of

the great powers once held by the Vestry of Lynnhaven Parish, the power to seat people in the parish churches according to their social position, thus making the *Vestry* a *Social Dictator*, was lost in 1803 or 1804, during the rectorship of the Rev. George Halson. The right was resisted and the Vestry was too weak to enforce it.⁵⁷

These were bad days for the Episcopal Church. One of the causes of the American Revolution had been the evil of tithing taxes to support the Church of England, which was required by law to be paid by members of all faiths as well as unbelievers. The Revolution put an end to this revenue. Another hardship was created by the custom in England of accepting the younger sons of the great English families into the ministry, regardless of their fitness. Most of these young men chose the ministry because it was one way in which they could maintain their caste; the only other way was by the purchase of a Commission in the Army or Navy. William Makepeace Thackeray, in *The Virginians*, presents a vivid picture of one of these horse-racing, cock-fighting parsons, who had little to recommend him as a minister of God except the fact that he had been ordained. These were not the men to rally the Church which had just suffered through a revolution. Also there were no Bishops in the colonies, which meant that American ministerial applicants must go to England for ordination and the laying on of hands by the Bishop of London. In addition the Protestant Episcopal Church in Princess Anne County inherited dilapidated property without any substantial resources with which to work.

After, 1785, the Episcopal Church in Virginia suffered a terrible depression. Interest revived during the middle of the nineteenth century, but the time of the War Between the States and the Reconstruction again took heavy toll of its resources. The revival of interest in this church was slow to come in Princess Anne, and several of the old churches were abandoned.

Today there are Protestant Episcopal Churches at Old Donation, Eastern Shore Chapel, Emanuel in Kempsville and Galilee at Virginia Beach, and these fast growing churches are serving fast growing communities of Princess Anne County.

The first Lynnhaven Parish Church at Church Point, near Adam Thorowgood's house, as previously stated, was replaced in 1692 by a brick Church on the same lot as the present Old Donation Church. Some of the foundations have been located with a sounding rod seventy feet southwest of the present church building.⁵⁸ This building was specified to be "forty five foot in length and twenty two foot in breadth between the walls," which were to be thirteen feet high. It was required to be completed by the end of June, 1692, under penalty of 100,000 pounds of tobacco, so this may safely be taken as its date.⁵⁹ The new church site was sold to the parish, after the

church was built, in 1694 by Ebenezer Taylor,* who deeded to the vestry two acres of land "whereon the new brick church of Lynnhaven now stands."⁶⁰ The building was erected by Jacob Johnson on Taylor's land "neare the road towards the ferry." This ferry had been established a few years earlier across the Western Branch of Lynnhaven. Ferry Farm, now owned by Mr. & Mrs. Walker A. Howern, is named for this ferry which operated nearby.

Forty-one years later in 1733, the prosperity and population of Princess Anne County were so flourishing that a new church was needed and in August of that year the Vestry ordered a brick church at a new location:

Resolved by the majority of one voice that at the ferry plantation is a fit and Convenient place to Set a New Church at and that the same be ther Erected.⁶¹

Present at this meeting were Mr. Henry Barlow, minister, Col. Anthony Walke and Capt. Francis Land, Churchwardens, and Capt. John Moseley, Major Henry Spratt, Capt. George Kempe, Mr. James Nimmo, Mr. Christopher Burroughs, Capt. Thomas Haynes and Capt. Francis Moseley, Vestrymen.

Some "politicking" must have followed, for at the November meeting, in the same year, Capt. George Kempe and Capt. Thomas Haynes stayed away and Col. Edward Moseley, Charles Sayer, Mr. John Gornto, Capt. Jacob Ellegood and Major Maximilian Boush ordered that:

This day unanimously resolved by the whole vestry (that) the new Church be built and placed where the old one (now) stands & that the Same be there Erected and Set.⁶²

The Vestry proceeded with this work and the third Lynnhaven Parish Church was received by them from its builder, Peter Malbone, on the 25th of June, 1736.⁶³ To the right of the west doorway of the church we now call "Old Donation" is a brick dated 1736, and the dimensions of the third church and "Old Donation" are the same. The stone tablet set in the west end wall of "Old Donation" church is incorrect in giving the date of its construction as 1694. The same error appears on the state historical marker at the cross-road leading to the church. These dates refer to the previous church which was close by, but this second Lynnhaven Parish Church was never called "Old Donation." In fact, the name "Old Donation" was not used to describe this third church during the colonial period. In 1822 the vestry ordered "the Church called the Donation Church" to be put in repair. This name came from the gift or "donation" of adjoining lands, still called Donation Farm, by the last colonial rector, the Rev. Robert Dickson. The

* A former schoolmaster in Hampton.

Rev. Mr. Dickson died in 1776 and left this land to the church as an endowment for a free school for orphan boys.⁶⁴

One of the interesting features of Old Donation Church is the small ventilating windows of odd size and shape, high in the side walls of the church. These windows are not found in any other surviving colonial church building in Virginia.⁶⁵ They were to light and ventilate the remarkable hanging pews the colonial gentlemen added to the church. The name hanging pew came from the manner in which these pews were constructed—literally suspended from the beams above by iron tie-rods.

At a Vestry meeting held 10 July 1736 the following motion was passed:

On the motion of Mr: William Robinson Liberty is given him to build a hanging Pew on the North side of the new Church & in case the family of the moseleys who have had the first liberty refuse to accept thereof then the Said Robinson to have the liberty of building the first Pew as aforesaid not obstructing the light of the windows.⁶⁶

At this same meeting the following interesting resolution was also passed:

Resolved that mr: Patrick Hackett is a fitt person to Sett up in the gallery to keep everybody in order & if boy's or any other person will not be restrained but doe any indecency he is hereby required to report Same to the Church wardens who are Desired to take proper measures . . . Likewise mr: francis Moseley is appointed to look out of doors & if any person or persons are Siting & talking or Committing any indecency dureing divine Service, he is hereby Impowered to Commit them to the care of the Constable . . .

During the ministry of Mr. Robert Dickson in 1765, Capt. James Kempe was given permission to erect a hanging pew on the north side of the church, and Mr. Edward Moseley, Junior, for a gallery on the south side "so that the same do not effect the pulpitt." By 1769 Mr. Walter Lyon and Mr. Thurmer Hoggard also had "hanging pews."⁶⁷

Old Donation still owns the early Lynnhaven Parish communion silver. The paten, dated 1711, was a gift from Col. Maximilian Boush and is engraved with his arms. The goblet is dated 1712 and the flagon 1716. These two pieces were given the church from Queen Anne's Bounty. Princess Anne had become Queen Anne in 1702. Two years later she had set aside for the use of the Established Church in its poor livings, sixteen thousand pounds a year under the name of "Queen Anne's Bounty."

The parish had no regular minister from the outbreak of the Revolution until 1785 when the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia took the place of the disestablished Church of England.⁶⁸ These years took heavy toll of church property. In 1822-24 repairs were made, but religion in Virginia was at a low ebb and the Old Donation Church building was rotted and decayed when it caught fire in 1882.

The rebuilt church at Old Donation today is due, first of all, to the fact

that one man felt that this holy piece of ground with the ruins of the important mother church of Lynnhaven Parish should be cared for. This man was Thurmer Hoggard IV, of Poplar Hall. When Old Donation Church was abandoned in 1842, Thurmer Hoggard went once a year with his family and descendants of former members of Old Donation Church and held service among the ruins. He knew that the Commonwealth of Virginia had passed a law that such churches and chapels as owned property under the Established Church of England and were not used for the space of a year were to escheat to the Commonwealth. During Thurmer Hoggard's lifetime he conformed to the law, and after his death his son, Capt. Thurmer Hoggard V, a Confederate veteran, continued the yearly service until 1899, when the Rev. Richard J. Alfriend came to the parish church at Kempsville, first as lay reader and then as rector. He, too, held services at least annually until 1912, when a movement was begun to build a new congregation for Old Donation. This started with one member, Mrs. J. E. B. Stuart, who contributed a dollar.⁶⁹ Mr. Alfriend and Judge B. D. White of Princess Anne County and Mr. C. M. Barnett of New York and Ferry Farm and numerous people in the County, organized a Sunday School and held frequent services. The huge trees which had grown up within the crumbled walls of the old brick church were felled and a parish house was built with their timber. In 1916, the restoration of Old Donation Church was complete and the dream of Thurmer Hoggard became a reality. He was never discouraged in his faith that someday this would happen and he is quoted as saying:

We must hope for great things, pray for great things, then do our best, and leave the rest to God.

A new parish house and rectory have recently been built and the families who have worked and been responsible for the growth of this church are fortunate in being a part of a long ministry.

Old Donation Church may be reached today by turning north at Chinese Corner, from the Virginia Beach Boulevard onto Route 647, or south at Robbin's Corner from Route 13Y to Route 134. Today the church is growing fast again as the suburban developments increase around it. The Rev. Beverley D. Tucker, Jr., is rector here.

The Lower Chapel, or Eastern Shore Chapel, was first located near the southern end of Great Neck, at the head of Wolfsnare Creek.⁷⁰ On 17 September 1689, there is a record of a court order which refers to the "Chapell of Ease in the Eastern Shore of Linhaven."⁷¹ This development was called Eastern Shore and we are again indebted to George Carrington Mason for much new information about this lost settlement.

The Lynnhaven Parish Vestry Book contains a vestry order dated August 4, 1724, "that a good, Commodious Chapel be built on the Eastern Shore."

This second Eastern Shore Chapel was built on land patented by William Cornick and a part of Salisbury Plains plantation. It was to be built of "framed work, weatherbored with inch pine plank, Lathed & Covered with Cypress shingles."⁷²

Here is the story of the third and fourth Eastern Shore Chapels:⁷³

The Vestry Book of Lynnhaven Parish has the following notation:

At a Vestry held this twelfth day of March 1754, Prestt. Revd. Robt. Dickson, Minister.

Capt. James Kempe Capt. William Keeling Ch Wardens Col. Anthony Walke Col. Nath. Newton Majr. Thos. Walke Capt. George Wishart Mr. Jno. Bonney Mr. William Woodhouse Senr. & Mr. Francis Thorowgood Land Vestrymen.

This day received from Joseph Mitchell The New Eastern Shore Chapel and do discharge him from his obligation of building and finishing the same, the above Vestry being satisfied with his performance thereof.

(Signed) Antho Walke

Little is known of Joseph Mitchell,* builder of the old brick chapel. He and his helpers did take square brick tiles and put their initials on them and set them in the walls over the doors. One bore the date 1754.

It is interesting to note that he was paid 385 pounds in money for the building of the old brick chapel and that the money was raised by four successive annual levies of tobacco and that the congregation had 69,000 pounds to pay for the cost of construction. This would come to about \$36,000 for an average grade of tobacco today.

Two hundred years later on March 12, 1954 a fourth church was completed. This new church was built after the Oceana Airbase required the site of the old church for enlarging the airbase.

The new church stands on nine acres of land given by Helen Smithers Eager and her father, H. C. Smithers. An additional eleven acres was purchased by the church for the cemetery.

The color of the interior of the new church is the same blue as was found under stain in the old church. In the specifications for the church built in 1754 the whole church was to be completely painted "where tis requisite of a sky color."

Irving Brock in his book, *Colonial Churches of Virginia*, states: "As we see them today nearly all of these interiors are painted white, but this was not always the case as records show. Sometimes the ceiling was a sky color, with cloud effects."

The communion service used regularly in the chapel was given to the Colonial church by Queen Anne's Bounty in 1759. During the years that the county was occupied by the soldiers of the Union army, the senior warden,

* He was probably builder of the first schoolhouse in Norfolk about 1761, as noted in Chapter XIII on the Borough of Norfolk.

Mr. Swepson Brooks, who lived on the site of the Indian Village Chesepiooc, now the home of the Trant family, took the precaution of burying the paten and flagon and goblet in the hen house. During these four war years whenever there was a hen to set, the nest over the spot where the silver was hidden was used.⁷⁴

Bright days lie ahead for Eastern Shore Chapel and its opportunity to serve a growing community. The congregation is rapidly increasing under the Rev. Henry Causey Barton, Jr.

The Chapel by the Sea was well known a generation ago, but is now almost a legend. This chapel was a mission from historic Eastern Shore Chapel, and the same rector held services at both churches. The chapel was at Dam Neck and was built like the mother chapel, but was constructed of wood rather than brick. It was built of lumber from the three-masted barque, *Agnes Barton*, which was wrecked in front of Dam Neck Mills Life Saving Station in April, 1889, while sailing from Rio de Janeiro to Baltimore. Four lives were lost and six saved by the life saving station men. The chapel was built by a man named Boyenton, and the work was under the supervision of Capt. Bailey T. Barco, who was in charge of the Dam Neck Mills Life Saving Station. Members of the congregation helped. The Rev. W. R. Savage, rector of Eastern Shore Chapel and Emanuel Church of Kempsville, encouraged the men at Dam Neck to build the "Chapel by the Sea." The Rev. John Wales, of Norfolk used to come to the county and preach in these Episcopal churches. In 1924 the "Chapel by the Sea" was no longer used as a church and Dr. Francis Steinmetz, then rector of Christ Church in Norfolk, bought the building for his church and it was remodeled as a recreation camp for girls from Christ Church. The church furnishings, the altar cross and vases, the Bible and the silver communion service now belong to and are used by the mother church, the Eastern Shore Chapel.⁷⁵

The upper chapel, or Machipungo Chapel is often mentioned in the Lynnhaven Vestry Book starting in 1723, but it is not standing today. Its long Indian name was soon shortened to Pungo Chapel. The late George Carrington Mason believed the first Pungo Chapel was located somewhere on the peninsula between the present North Landing River and Back Bay, possibly in the vicinity of Creed's Post Office. He mentions a journal of Philip Ludwell and Nathaniel Harrison, the Virginia commissioners for running the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina, in 1710.⁷⁶ According to their journal the commissioners rode over Pocaty Swamp Bridge to the west of North Landing River, which they crossed. After spending the night they "rode six miles to the Chappell, which was a very wretched one."

Mr. Mason also related that in 1692 a pious philanthropist, Captain Hugh Campbell, gave an endowment in the form of two hundred acres of land for the support of a reader in each of three places, remote from church

facilities, as well as a Bible for each reader. One of these places was the North Landing River in Princess Anne County.⁷⁷

In 1739, James James agreed to build a new Pungo Chapel for the sum of three hundred and twenty two pounds, ten shillings.⁷⁸ The Vestry chose a new location on the plantation of William Dyers, where the chapel was completed by 1743. The third Pungo Chapel⁷⁹ was built close by the second. These last two chapels, one on the land of William Dyers, and the other on the land of Anthony Fentress, were about two and a half miles south of the village of Pungo, on the east side of the Pungo Ridge Road, and opposite the former home of W. G. Eaton. The third chapel was completed by Hardress Waller in 1774, just before the Revolutionary War, and was the largest of all the colonial churches built in Lynnhaven Parish. This chapel survived until the time of the Civil War, but since then it has disappeared.

There was no parish church built at Kempsville until 1843. Old Donation held its congregation for sixty lean years after the Revolutionary War and the Episcopalians of Kempsville traveled four miles to church and four returning miles. In 1840, the Rev. John G. Hall, rector of Old Donation succeeded in establishing a new church in the more centrally located Kempsville. This church, called Emanuel, was completed in July, 1843 and consecrated by the Right Rev. William Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia. From 1877 until the present the records of Emanuel's service to its community are available. Its early records were burned during the war Between the States. The ministers of Emanuel also served Eastern Shore Chapel. Especially memorable in the county is the ministry of the Rev. W. R. Savage, who came to these churches in 1884. During the ten years he was here he established the mission for the Life Saving Station at Dam Neck. He restored Eastern Shore Chapel, which was in bad repair. He organized Church Aid Societies and edited and published a parish paper called "Lynnhaven Visitor." In 1943, the one hundredth anniversary of Emanuel Church was celebrated at Kempsville. Ninety days later a fire of unknown origin burned the church to the ground. The present church building was finally completed in 1947 and was dedicated by Bishop W. A. Brown.⁸⁰

The earliest record of a dissenting group in Princess Anne County occurred in 1662. On the 29th day of December of that year a Lower Norfolk County Court record shows us that the Society of Friends had a meeting place. It reads:

Whereas Coll John Sidney high Shreive for this County hath given information to this Cort that he uppon ye fifteenth day of this instant December beinge Sabbath day, did take divse psons wch were at an unlawfull meetinge wth those commonly called Quakers.⁸¹

The next year Richard Russell and a group of Friends were fined for violating the Act of Assembly and William Berkeley, Royal Governor of the Colony wrote the following letter to the gentlemen of the County of Lower Norfolk.

Gentlemen I thanke you for yor care of ye County and desire you to continue it, & Especially to pvide yt ye abominated seede of ye Quakers spread not in yor County which to prvent I think fitt to add these fower to the Commission vizt Mr. Addam Thurrowgood Mr. Wm Carver, Mr. Wm Daynes & Mr. Thomas ffulsher Mr. hall I heare is annient. Once more I beseech you gent: to have an Exact care of this Pestilent sect of ye Quakers.

Yor most affectionate frend

William Berkeley⁸²

In the colonies as well as in England, the Quakers were persecuted. They were considered the extreme left wing of the English Reformation and between 1650 and 1689 no fewer than 15,000 Quakers suffered death for their faith.

George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, made his great personal discovery of the "Christ Within" in 1647. He had no plans for establishing a religion or of founding a sect. Others who had had similar experiences joined him and withdrew from the Church of England. Their persecution caused them to search for religious freedom in the new world. The Society of Friends became firmly established in southeastern Virginia and their church has been continuous in Nansemond County. There is a meeting house today on the site of Old Somerton Friends' Meeting House, which is about three miles southeast of Holland.

Today there is a Society of Friends in Princess Anne County, which was organized by Mr. and Mrs. Robert D. Wilson, who moved to Virginia Beach some years ago. Finding no Friends Meeting House in the county and missing their own religion, they decided in 1954 to hold a meeting in their home for their friends. Later other Quakers joined them and in several months they had a nucleus of twenty charter members who decided to work for a meeting house. With the help of the Society of Friends at Woodland, N. C., these people have built in colonial architecture a meeting house and elementary school on Laskin Road near Virginia Beach. The Friends' schools are noted for their excellence and the county is fortunate in having the use of their facilities.

The Presbyterians came to Princess Anne County in the seventeenth century too. One of the buildings in the early Eastern Shore Settlement (of Lynnhaven River) may have been the first Presbyterian church in Virginia. This pioneer Presbyterian meeting house was on Edward Cooper's plantation at Great Neck and was registered in 1693 as a place of worship for dissenters

from the Established Church. Services in this building, which stood near the first Eastern Shore Chapel and the courthouse, were held by the Rev. Josias Mackie, a Scotch-Irish parson from Donegal who had been dismissed as minister of Elizabeth River Parish in 1692 because of his non-conformist practices, as noted in Chapter X. Mr. Mackie also held services in a private house on the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River in 1699.⁸³

Francis Doughty, who was called the father of British Presbyterianism in the Middle Colonies helped establish the church in Virginia between 1650 and 1659.

Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism is said to have been brought to America by an unknown Irish minister in 1668. Francis Makemie, an ordained minister of the presbytery of Laggan, came to the Virginia and Maryland colonies in 1683 and continued the work of Francis Doughty. According to one authority, "In 1684 he acted as pastor of an Irish church at Elizabeth River, Virginia."^{83a} It would be interesting to know more about the development of the Presbyterian church on Elizabeth River.

While the first Baptist churches grew up in other parts of Virginia in the early eighteenth century, this denomination did not gain a foothold in this southeast corner of the State until well after mid-century, and then as a missionary effort from North Carolina. The first Baptist Church in Princess Anne County—and the oldest one in the Lower Tidewater area—was the Pungo Baptist Church, constituted in 1762 as an off-shoot of a church in Camden County, North Carolina. Its first pastor was Elder James Gamewell, and it did not immediately acquire a meeting place of its own. By 1764, however, a meeting-house had been built: on 15 July of that year was recorded a deed whereby John Whitehurst, Jr., sold to the "Elders and Rulers of the Baptist Church at Pungo . . . one half acre . . . on which the meeting-house now stands." In 1766, Elder George Plummer became its pastor, and after some periods of vacancy, he was followed in 1775 by Elder Joshua Lawrence. This church still worships on the same site after two centuries, though its original building has long since been replaced and its name was changed in 1856 to Oak Grove Baptist Church.

Princess Anne County has another pre-Revolutionary Baptist Church in the Blackwater Baptist Church. Constituted in 1774, it was an off-shoot of the Pungo Church; it was listed in a 1791 Register as being in Norfolk County. It is apparent that this was simply an error on the part of Asplund, the compiler, and the church is quite evidently on its original site north of Blackwater River ("Creek" as it was called in 1774). This stream is almost entirely in Princess Anne County. The church was served for some years by itinerant preachers, and obtained its first permanent leader in 1803 in the person of Elder William Sorey, who continued to labor there for twenty-seven years.

Following the American Revolution, there was a great revival movement which swept the thirteen states; the Baptist Church made rapid growth and by 1800 there were 120,000 members of this faith in the United States. At this time in 1784, the Eastern Shore Baptist Church was established by Elders Daniel Gould and William Morris. There were fifty-five members and Morris was preacher for eighteen years. The first church building was a frame building with a low ceiling painted sky-blue to resemble heaven. This church established a mission in 1835 at Princess Anne Courthouse, which in 1856 was constituted as St. John's Baptist Church. The Eastern Shore Church took its name from the old precinct of Lynnhaven Parish in which it was located, but before mid-nineteenth century was called London Bridge Baptist Church to distinguish it from the Anglican Eastern Shore Chapel of 1754. For many years the baptism of converts took place on the western shore of Linkhorn Bay, about a half a mile from the present Laskin Road. At one revival in 1834 over a hundred people are said to have been baptised. The old church building was altered and repaired and survived until 1946 when fire destroyed it. In 1948 a large modern Church and Sunday School building was dedicated on the same site. Thus the old church started by the Baptists at London Bridge shortly after the Revolution continues to grow and influence the lives of those families who have worshipped in this village for nearly two hundred years. The fine new church now stands in the center of a rapidly growing community, a symbol to all of Christian fortitude against adversity.⁸⁵

The fourth oldest church of this denomination in the County is the Kempsville Baptist Church, which was constituted in 1814.

Bishop Francis Asbury was the first bishop of the American Methodist Church and his work was responsible for the establishment of this church in America. He visited Princess Anne County before the Revolution in 1771. Later in 1789 the first Methodist church was built by the people of the Backbay section. This was Charity Church, whose congregation is still a strong one in the lower county. Old Nimmo Church, a few miles to the east of Princess Anne Courthouse is also a very old church, built in 1791. Bishop Asbury visited Nimmo Church and preached there the first year it was built. Nimmo Church was famous for its camp meetings. In 1828, an old account says: "... Nimmo's a place famous especially for striking exhibitions of divine power and the conversion of sinners." In 1891, Nimmo Church celebrated its one hundredth birthday, and in honor of this occasion the congregation modernized the church and it is this Victorian-style building which we see today. This old cross-road church is an inspiration to those who just pass by it, as well as to its vigorous congregation.⁸⁶

The Mennonite Church in Princess Anne County has established a large congregation since 1904 when they came here from Pennsylvania. There are five small churches in Princess Anne and Norfolk Counties. The Kempsville

Amish Mennonite Church, the Providence Conservative Mennonite Church on Providence Road, in Princess Anne County and churches at Mount Pleasant, Deep Creek, and the smallest newest one at Norview, in Norfolk County.

The sect is named after Menno Simons (1492-1559) of Friesland, North Holland, a leader influenced by the Protestant Reformation. They have no formal creed but believe in following the precepts of the New Testament as literally as possible. The religion flourished in Switzerland, Holland and Germany. Migrations of Mennonites to this country began in 1640. They were welcomed in Pennsylvania by William Penn's Quakers and have spread from Pennsylvania to Canada and other areas in the United States.

They have remained farming people, retaining their plain 17th century dress and their precepts of piety and industry. The women wear special coverings over their heads to conform to the teaching of St. Paul, and the men wear coats without lapels and hooked to the neck. Both men and women wear clothing without adornment. Twice a year they observe the ordinances of the Lord's Supper and foot-washing. Their baptism, performed by sprinkling, is reserved for adults. They maintain aloofness from governmental affairs and reject the taking of oaths. They do not like to have their pictures taken. Jacob Hershberger, a Mennonite leader who owns an interest in the Yoder Dairies at Kempsville says there are about three hundred and fifty Mennonites in the Kempsville area. These are called "Beachy" Mennonites, because of their branch founder. They use German in their service and the men wear chin beards. These people, while being non-resistant or conscientious objectors to war, have made their contribution to war-ravaged Europe. They have sent food and Christmas bundles again and again in wholesale lots.

In March 1953, ten families of Amish Mennonites left Princess Anne County to settle in Macon County, Georgia. For the first time since Mennonites first came to this area they have begun to emigrate. They feel the crowding of the area, which is becoming rapidly urbanized. A rural people, skilled in the farming arts, they seek to keep their close touch with the soil. Their children are growing up and need their own farms. There still remain in Princess Anne the main group, which has been growing and contributing to the agricultural progress of the county for fifty years.

Judge Benjamin Dey White, in his pamphlet, *Gleanings in the History of Princess Anne County* gave a good introduction to the Civil War by describing the local militia organization. He stated that prior to the War Between the States the county had six or eight companies of local militia, which composed the 20th Regiment. Wilson M. Bonney was Colonel, William T. Griggs, Lieutenant-Colonel, and John Hill, Major. The annual muster day was the big event of each year, the last being in 1860. The muster and drill took

place in a field near St. John's Baptist Church, within a short distance of Princess Anne Court House.

The Seaboard Rifles was a volunteer state militia, formed at London Bridge, December 22, 1859. Mr. Carroll H. Walker, of Norfolk, has supplied the names of the original officers: Captain—George T. Rogers; First Lieut.—J. G. Cornick; Second Lieut.—George Teabault; Adjutant—James E. Land; First Sergeant—John Hunter, Jr.; Second Sergeant—Thomas J. Cornick; R. S. Whitehurst and T. C. Hunter were possibly third and fourth sergeants or first and second corporals.

The roster of the officers and men of the Princess Anne Cavalry, Company F, 15th Regiment is preserved and hangs on the right hand wall of the Clerk's Office at the Courthouse. Its officers were as follows: Captain—Wilson M. Bonney; later Captain—James Forbes Simpson; First Lieut.—Livingston Ingram; Second Lieut.—Nathaniel Brickhouse; Third Lieut.—Frank Old.

Under the state law, at that time, all militia companies had to furnish their own uniforms and the state furnished the arms. Mr. Walker writes:

It is my understanding that the state law regarding uniforms was amended in January, 1860, permitting the state to furnish uniforms to all militia companies, and it is my further information that this was a dark blue uniform. Most outfits already in existence by January, 1860, had their own uniforms, which were of their own design and choosing.

The Princess Anne Cavalry was in command of John Fentress. Later other companies of infantry were organized and a company of artillery, which, at one time was stationed at the entrenched camp near Norfolk. The entrenched camp consisted of an elaborate system of breastworks, extending from Broad Creek through Ballentine Place, to Tanner's Creek, evidences of which are still in existence. To the east of the entrenched camp and about two miles distant, on what is now known as the Norfolk County Water Works Farm, was established a training camp, at which troops from various sections of the South were trained. This camp was called the "Alabama Camp" because of the fact that a great majority of the soldiers came from Alabama.⁸⁷

When the war began, the 6th Virginia Regiment was immediately organized at Norfolk. It was composed mostly of companies in and around Norfolk. Shortly after the formation of this company the Seaboard Rifles was assigned to it and the company was known, from then on, as Company F. Later, in the fall of 1861, the 6th, 12th, 16th and 41st Virginia Regiments were organized into a brigade, and, on November 16, 1861, Colonel William Mahone, who commanded the 6th Virginia, was promoted to Brigadier General, and this was when Captain George T. Rogers, of the Seaboard Rifles (or Company F) was promoted to Major. In April, 1862, just prior to the

evacuation of Norfolk by the Confederates, the 6th Regiment was reorganized and Major Rogers was made Colonel of the regiment.

The 6th Virginia participated in the Seven Days Battles (notably Malvern Hill), Second Manassas, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. It fought through the whole campaign of 1864, taking part in the battles of Shady Grove, Spotsylvania Courthouse, Cold Harbor, North Anna River, Hanover Court House, Turkey Ridge, Second Frazier's Farm and the Crater (Petersburg), and it was also at Ream's Station, Burgess' Mill and Hatcher's Run. Colonel Rogers was its commanding officer when it surrendered at Appomattox.

The flag of the Seaboard Rifles was preserved by the granddaughter of Col. George Rogers, Mrs. Lydia Roper and presented by her to the Norfolk Museum. The flag is surrounded with a dark blue border. The center is now cream color, but was probably white at one time. The lettering is gold and a sheaf of wheat is painted in natural colors. The lettering SEABOARD RIFLES is gold with blue shadows and the wreath around the lettering is green. The Seaboard Rifles, as Company F, is not to be confused with Company F, also known as the Southern Guard, which was organized in Norfolk, on December 14, 1859, and which was one of the five Norfolk militia companies comprising the 54th Regiment of Virginia Militia. When it mustered into Confederate service in June, 1861, it became Company G. There was another company from Princess Anne County known as Company B, under Captain W. Carter Williams. It was later attached to the 6th Virginia Regiment.

After the evacuation of the Norfolk area in May 1862 by the Confederates, Princess Anne County had Federal garrisons stationed at Pungo Ferry, Kempsville, and Pleasure House Beach, and probably at other points. Frequent raids were made by detachments of these garrisons, several of which were led by a notorious negro named "Specs" Hodges, who afterwards represented the County in the General Assembly. The garrison at Pungo Ferry had a prison, and at one time had confined there Miss Nancy White, of Knott's Island, and also Mrs. Eugene Ballance, who was held as a hostage for a Federal prisoner.

During the Federal occupation the Cape Henry Lighthouse was set upon by Princess Anne County men and put out of commission, which was quite troublesome to the Union.

Later on in the war, the beaching of the S. S. *Maple Leaf* must have brought rejoicing to this invaded area. This Federal ship had left New Orleans with seventy Confederate officers as prisoners. After taking on twenty-six more officers at Norfolk, she was proceeding north via the Capes, when a well-organized mutiny of the prisoners was accomplished. Three of the Confederates engaged each sentinel on duty, joking and chatting with

him. Another group waited until the relief guards had stacked their muskets, and still another group handled the crew. In a few minutes they had the ship. Colonel Witt and Major Semmes were the ranking officers of the mutiny and with Lieutenant Fuller, a Mississippi river-boat captain, advising them, they landed the *S. S. Maple Leaf* about ten miles south of Virginia Beach after nightfall and those prisoners who were able escaped from the ship. The ship was then returned to her Captain who steamed on his way.

These men were now in enemy-held country and proceeded cautiously. A dimly lit farm house proved a temporary safe haven, for it was the home of the wife and daughter of a farmer who was fighting with the Confederate Army. The wife realized their danger and urged that they get to the Carolina swamp as soon as possible. There they found loyal Southerners of the Currituck Sound boiling sea water for salt for the Army. One of these fishermen, turned guerrilla, led them to Richmond and safety.

After the war, on the farms of Dr. I. N. Baxter, at Kempsville and Greenwich, were established large camps of freed Negroes. At Cool Spring, or Rolleston, the one time home of Governor Henry A. Wise, was established a Freedmen's Bureau.⁸⁸

General Benjamin F. Butler, known throughout the South as "Beast Butler," in his autobiography, *Butler's Book*, stated:

November 27 (1863), Colonel Draper, with the Sixth U. S. Colored Troups, made a successful raid into the counties lying in the sounds in Virginia and North Carolina, capturing and dispersing organized guerillas.

December 4, Brigadier Wilde, at the head of two regiments of colored troupes, overran all the counties as far as Chowan River, releasing some two thousand slaves, and inflicting much damage upon the enemy. . . .

The General voiced his disappointment in not being able to recruit "loyal" Virginians for the Federal Army. He wrote:

The army being much in need of recruits, and Eastern Virginia claiming to be a fully organized loyal State, by permission of the President an enrollment of all the able-bodied loyal citizens of Virginia within my command was ordered for the purposes of a draft when one should be called for in other loyal States. This order was vigorously protested against by Governor Pierpont, and this was all the assistance the United States ever received from the loyal government of Virginia in defending the State. My predecessors in command had endeavored to recruit a regiment of loyal Virginians, but, after many months of energetic trial, both by them and by myself, the attempt was abandoned. A company and a half was all the recruits that State would furnish to the Union, and these were employed in defending the lighthouses and in protecting the loyal inhabitants from the outrages of their immediate neighbors.

The governor to whom General Butler refers, Francis H. Pierpont, was a native of Monongalia County, in what is now West Virginia. He was governor of the western counties, now composing the State of West Virginia, which refused to secede from the Union, with headquarters at Wheeling, and later at Alexandria City. He was recognized by the Federals as Governor of Virginia at the same time that Governors John Letcher (January 1, 1860-January 1, 1864) and William Smith (January 1, 1864-May 9, 1865) were the occupants of the Executive chair in Richmond. After the surrender at Appomattox, Governor Smith was replaced by Governor Pierpont who moved into Richmond, where he exercised the duties of the office of Governor of Virginia, until Henry H. Wells, provisional Governor, under military rule, was appointed to replace him.⁹⁰

Further light is cast upon the references, by General Butler, to the "loyal government of Virginia," by Mr. Milton C. Russell, head of the Reference and Circulation Section of the Virginia State Library, at Richmond. He writes:

Princess Anne County was one of the counties of Virginia excepted from the Emancipation Proclamation, but not because of cooperation with the Federal troops which occupied the coastal area.

The second Congressional district, which was composed of Brunswick, Dinwiddie, Greenville, Isle of Wight, Nansemond, Norfolk, Princess Anne, Prince George, Southampton, Surry and Sussex, did not have representation in the U. S. Congress during the Civil War period. Lucius J. Chandler claimed to have been elected to represent this district on the fourth Thursday in May, 1863. He presented credentials but was declared not entitled to a seat by resolution of May 17, 1864. He was allowed mileage and pay to the date of the adoption of the resolution. A lengthy speech he made in support of his claim and the proceedings of the House of Representatives in his case are recorded in *The Congressional Globe* for May 17, 1864.

It would be unfair to cite individual heroism, involving one or two Confederate soldiers, when most of the men and boys of Princess Anne fought heroically through the entire war. They slipped through the Federal lines to come home and plow and then slipped back to the Confederate lines.

Agriculture in Princess Anne County began at a very early date, as the Indians were growing corn when the first white men arrived.⁹¹ From the standpoint of acreage, corn has continued to be the most important crop for more than three hundred years. The first farming was done on the well-drained sandy land bordering Lynnhaven, the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River, Back Bay and the ridge now known as Pungo Ridge, which traverses the central part of the county. A great many houses of pre-Revolutionary War time are still standing in these sections. The development of other areas depended upon open drainage ditches being dug.

Early agriculture consisted of raising corn, wheat, and livestock for sub-

sistence and tobacco as a cash crop. In recent years the growing of vegetables such as potatoes, sweet-potatoes, and green vegetables (spinach, kale, etc.) along with strawberries and dairying has received special emphasis. Rapid transportation has been responsible for this change and for the success of this so-called truck farming.

Just a little over a hundred years ago, in November of 1852, there was held in the charming town of Kempsville the first Agricultural Fair of Eastern Virginia. This was sponsored by the Agricultural Society of Princess Anne County. The Norfolk newspaper, *The Daily Southern Argus*, reported the affair. From its yellowed pages we are given a description of the fair grounds. There was a track a quarter of a mile around on which horses, cattle and livestock were displayed. Due to a heavy rain the night before the exposition opened, the track was unusable. There was some confusion in the displaying of the prize animals, but we read that fine and superior horses, mules, cows, bulls, hogs, sheep and poultry were shown. In a shed forty feet long, vegetables were displayed. On the fair grounds was a house sixty feet long for the showing of dairy products and various branches of "Domestic Economy." Here were quilts, fancy work, preserves, honey, knit socks, homemade soap and homespun woolen cloth. There was an exhibit of an improved system of cutting dresses. A long and detailed list of prizes won by the ladies was printed. Mrs. Henry Brock won \$2.00 for "the best piece of hand woven woolen cloth for servants." Mrs. A. Walke got the prize for the best home-made soap. And lest we think flower arrangements are a recent innovation, Mrs. Anne Walke won \$1.00 for the best bouquet. Captain John Cornick was given the grand prize for the best conducted farm in the county. Mr. E. H. Herbert, who was president of the Princess Anne Agricultural Society introduced the speaker, the Hon. F. Mallory, a prominent citizen of Norfolk and a member of the Norfolk Council. Mr. Mallory spoke for one hour. Mr. Herbert also had the honor of winning the plowing contest, which was held in a nearby field. Norfolk must have been well represented at this Kempsville Fair, for in this same newspaper is a paid advertisement which reads:

William Sale announces to the citizens of Norfolk that his special omnibus, propelled by three horses, will leave at the head of Market Square this and tomorrow morning for Kempsville at 9 a.m. \$1 fare to go and return.

The ladies of Princess Anne served a feast, the proceeds of which were to help rebuild and renovate Old Donation Church.

The *Argus* continued:

Old Donation Church, is a venerable relic of the olden times, at whose altar those who preceded us in past days used to offer up their adoration to the throne of the Most High.

The *Argus* further said:

While the fair had been looked on by some as a doubtful experiment it far exceeded public expectations and there was cause for rejoicing on the part of the young agricultural society. It proves that the farmers in this section have the spirit and the means to present as good a fair as any in the land.⁹²

This county continued to develop as an agricultural area for three hundred years. However, since 1930 there has been a change in the whole character of the county and its rural aspects will soon be hard to find.

In 1930, the families of the county were by and large the descendants of the pre-Revolutionary colonists. There were no large industries in the area and farming had changed very little. Dairying had developed as a profitable business due to the growth of nearby Norfolk. Turkey-raising in the Pungo section became a specialized industry, in addition to the chickens raised generally by most farmers. Nowadays the Princess Anne turkey, like the Lynnhaven oyster, is a much-sought-after local product. Many men worked part or full-time fishing, oystering, and crabbing. The oysters from Lynnhaven were famous and much in demand. Lumbering furnished full-time employment to loggers and added to the farmers' incomes. This lumbering was done in portable mills and there were no large sawmills. There were brickyards at Oceana and Lynnhaven Village.

As Virginia Beach grew into a large popular resort town and transportation from Norfolk to Virginia Beach improved, Norfolk residents were attracted to the pleasant land around the Lynnhaven River. Next, the rapid growth of the city of Norfolk, which is confined on three of its sides by water, created a giant demand for housing. Princess Anne County supplied the land and nationally known developers, as well as many carpenters-turned-contractors, have changed the long time rural county. In 1958 Princess Anne County is listed with 692 farms, compared with 1,432 farms in 1900 and 1,180 in 1930.

This process of change has also been accelerated by the enlargement of the Army Post at Fort Story, where coastal defense and transportation techniques are taught. The development of this post is described in the following chapter on Virginia Beach.

The United States Navy also has large installations in Princess Anne County. The Amphibious Base at Little Creek, the Naval Air Station at Oceana and the Fleet Air Defense Training Center at Dam Neck have all influenced the changes in Princess Anne, economically as well as in many other ways. In April 1942, the United States Navy started the Amphibious Training Base at Little Creek.⁹³ The building program was an accelerated one, starting with a water-logged bean field on one of the Whitehurst farms. Buildings were completed at a rate of five a day. New methods and tech-

niques in landing were developed here for the assault of enemy lands. There was mud and confusion and military urgency. The Amphibious Training Command, U. S. Atlantic Fleet, was officially operating August 1, 1943. At that time the Naval Amphibious Training Base, Little Creek, trained crews for LSM (Landing Ships Medium), LCV (Landing Craft Vehicles) and other amphibious vessels. The Naval Frontier Base, Little Creek, was a forwarding depot for personnel and supplies in the Mediterranean and European Theaters of Operation. Camp Bradford, Little Creek, trained crews for the LST (Landing Ships Tank). Also, located at Little Creek was an Armed Guard School commissioned on October 15, 1941. Its purpose was the training of officers and enlisted men to man gun crews aboard merchant ships. In 1943 an Armed Guard Center was commissioned at Camp Shelton.

During the Second World War, the Command trained over 200,000 Naval and 160,000 Army and Marine personnel. The Armed Guard Center trained approximately 6500 officers and 115,000 enlisted men. When this war was over the Command was deactivated and the United States Naval Amphibious Base was created. The Amphibious Training Base became Annex I, the Frontier Base became Annex II, Camps Bradford and Shelton became Annex III. These bases cover 1,800 acres of land and 4,000 yards of Chesapeake Bay beach which affords the surf and hydrographic conditions necessary for amphibious training. Some 20,000 men train at the United States Naval Amphibious Base each year. These men come from all branches of our armed forces, Midshipmen, Marines, Naval Reserves from fifty-two colleges, and military students from many foreign nations. The temporary character of the early base has been completely changed since 1951, when Congress allocated money for developing and improving the facilities. With the completion of its present building program the Amphibious Base at Little Creek will be the largest of its kind in the world.

Just south of Virginia Beach is The Fleet Air Defense Training Center, called Dam Neck. The Center was named for the Life Saving Station established here in the late nineteenth century on the then very lonely beach near the two-post type grain windmills, called Dam Neck Mills. The Center was first organized under Captain Paul D. Gallery, as an anti-aircraft school at the beginning of World War II. In its early days a carrier aircraft training unit and a Bureau of Ordnance test center operated at Dam Neck.⁹⁴ Built quickly and enlarged quickly after the Korean War the Training Center has since been rebuilt in a spic and span, orderly manner, typical of a Navy installation. The 1,067-acre center trains Atlantic Fleet personnel in the firing of gun-control radar as well as long-range detection radar and is the first such two-purpose facility in the Navy. Another smaller gunnery training center is located near San Diego, but does not include the "live" firing of guns. The military complement of the station in 1958 is about 300 enlisted

men and 35 officers. These men train recruits at a rate of about a thousand a week. Included in the station personnel are Marines who instruct at a small-arms range and Navy instructors who maintain a guided-missile school. The dual mission of Dam Neck came into being at the insistence of the late Admiral Forrest P. Sherman, Chief of Naval Operations. He urged in 1948, that single centers be created to instruct not only in the teamwork of shooting guns, but the operation of long range radar, the tracking of planes and their control.

In order to prepare crews for battle duty, the U.S.F.A.D.T.C. reproduces actual shipboard equipment conditions. This indoctrination is necessary to avoid the destructive and ineffective results of throwing an unseasoned recruit into actual battle conditions. The noise alone is just one factor which requires considerable adjustment. Conducting anti-aircraft exercises afloat would be too expensive in man hours and money to be efficient. Most any day of the week when weather is clear the firing of Dam Neck guns, which range from 20 mm to 5 inchers can be heard in that area. It provides shore base training for fleet personnel in all aspects of the defense of the fleet against enemy aircraft. This is the Navy's answer to Atlantic Fleet Air Defense Training.

Between the villages of Oceana and Princess Anne Courthouse there stretch about five thousand acres of farm land on which the Oceana Air Station has grown up like a third village. Oceana Air Station got its start as early as 1938, when an investigation was launched as to the possibilities of building an Auxiliary landing field in this area.⁹⁵ After three years of study and negotiations, construction was started in the early part of 1941 and for the most part consisted of sand asphalt runways 2,500 feet in length and a single wood structure which served as an ambulance garage and caretakers' building. After Pearl Harbor, construction was stepped up and better facilities commensurate with requirements of a Naval Auxiliary Air Station were started. The Station was commissioned on August 17, 1943, and continued in an active status during World War II and the Korean War. In 1950 a program of expansion was started. Four concrete runways were expanded to 8,000 feet, and in 1951 contracts were awarded incidental to the preparation of master plans for the development of a Master Jet Base. The station was designated a Naval Air Station on April 1, 1952, and construction has continued to the present and plans are working for its future enlargement. The Master Jet Base, called Oceana, now has its own Auxiliary field at Fentress, Virginia, where the Navy jets are put through their paces, and their pilots learn the split second timing needed to fly missions today and tomorrow. The field at the Naval Air Station, Oceana was dedicated in June, 1957 and named for Vice Admiral Apollo Sousek, U. S. N.

Princess Anne County has a great heritage which can give meaning and perspective to the lives of her many new inhabitants. These people have come

from all lands and many walks of life to make their homes in Princess Anne County and if the history of the county's early new inhabitants is properly brought to their attention they will realize that the history of the United States has been lived dramatically on their land since the first landing at Cape Henry in 1607.

It is a feeling of great satisfaction to note that we live where so much of our country's history has been wrought, but there should also be a strong feeling of responsibility. The county is changing fast, and soon the decisions of today will be history of tomorrow. It is to be hoped that a knowledge of Princess Anne County's past will help her citizens of today accept this responsibility and ensure the quality of their decisions.

Editor's Note

As has been done before, we shall tell a little more about the well-known names which have contributed their share of the country's history. In an earlier chapter, we told of the third generation of Thorowgoods: Argall, John and Adam (III), sons of Col. Adam II. Argall Thorowgood (d. 1699) was married to Elizabeth daughter of Adam Keeling, and inherited the plantation whose manor house, built about 1636, has disappeared. Col. John Thorowgood (I, d. 1701) was married to Margaret daughter to Anthony Lawson, and inherited the other Thorowgood house which is still standing; his son John (II) was married to Pembroke daughter of Charles Sayer, and their son John (III) lived until 1786. Adam Thorowgood (III) was a County Justice in 1701. William and Elizabeth, son and daughter of Argall Thorowgood, married sister and brother Elizabeth and James, daughter and son of James Nimmo of Shenstone Green, another prominent county name. William Thorowgood was last owner of the manor plantation, and at his death in 1780 left it to his sister's son, William Thorowgood Nimmo.⁹⁶

It does not appear that any member of the numerous Willoughby clan ever became prominently connected with the life of Princess Anne. As for the Masons, it is not known what connection there was (if any) between Robert Mason of Pungo (d. 1753) and his son James and the prominent family in Mason's Creek. However, Col. Lemuel Mason's other two daughters* married gentlemen from Princess Anne. Mary Mason was wife of Christopher Cocke, County Clerk from 1700 to 1716, and Dinah Mason married a Thorowgood, possibly a younger son of Col. Adam (II).⁹⁷

As to Thelaballs and Langleys, they were primarily Norfolk County families but a few of them settled in Princess Anne. Mary Thelaball was married to William Chichester, and as previously noted was forewoman of the

* In Chapter XII, we told of Frances Mason, who married Newton and Sayer, and of Alice Mason, who married Porten and Boush.

jury which sat in the Alice Cartrite witchcraft case in January 1678/9. Two sons and a daughter of Capt. William Langley (II) lived in Princess Anne: James Langley (d. 1751) had two daughters, Anne who married Dr. George Rouviere, and Frances, who married Edward Land; Jacob Langley (d. 1740) had no known descendants; and Joyce Langley was married to John Wishard (II) as will be noted below. Thomas Langley of the fourth generation* settled in Princess Anne; his wife was Bridget and his two sons Thomas (d. 1784) and Willis (d. 1806) had no known descendants. He had a daughter Mary, and a daughter Elizabeth who married a Land.⁹⁸

Of the four sons of James Wishard (Wichard)—James, John, William and Thomas—only John did not settle in Princess Anne as noted in a previous chapter. James Wishard (II)—who died in 1718—had four daughters and two sons, John and Jacob Johnson Wishard, a mariner of Norfolk Borough; nothing further is known of his descendants, but the name of the second son gives a clue to his mother's family. William Wishard (d. 1736) was not married. The youngest son Thomas Wishard (d. 1729) was married to Mary daughter of James Kempe (I) as previously noted; they had two daughters and five sons: Thomas, George, William, John and James. James headed a large branch in Accomack County; William (d. 1750) was a mariner of Norfolk Borough; George (d. 1766) was Sheriff and Vestryman, and had (among others) Francis and George, who had no issue, and daughters Ann and Dinah who married respectively Captain William Keeling and Cornelius Calvert, Jr.; Thomas Wishard II died in 1772 (this branch leans toward that spelling), and had two sons, Col. William Wishart, County Lieutenant, and Lieutenant Thomas Wishart of the Fifteenth Regiment, Virginia Continental Line, who lived successively in the old house described in chapter X until the latter sold it in 1795 to William Boush; John Wishard or Wichard (this branch leans toward the original spelling) was married to Frances daughter of William Hancock, was Justice in 1735 and Sheriff 1738, and died in 1739. He left an only son John Wishard or Wichard who was married to Joyce, daughter to William Langley II and widow of Lemuel Thelaball; he removed in 1750 to what later became Pitt County, North Carolina, where—as John Whichard, Sr.—he became progenitor of that family, dying in 1772. A branch of this family, headed by John Whichard, Jr. (d. 1795) lived in Princess Anne until it disappeared with the death of David Whichard in 1849.⁹⁹

The connection among Kempes, Hancocks and Wishards was mentioned in Chapter X. The younger James Kempe married Mary Hancock; Mary, his sister, married Thomas Wishard; their brother George Kempe married Mary

* Son of Capt. Lemuel Langley (d. 1748), grandson of Thomas Langley (d. 1717), great-grandson of William Langley (I) who died in 1676.

daughter of the second Lancaster Lovett; John Wishard (d. 1739) married Frances sister of Mary Hancock mentioned above. After four Lancaster Lovetts in direct line, this family had two branches, for the fourth Lancaster (d. 1752) had two sons, John Lovett (d. 1810) and Thomas Lovett (d. 1790). The latter was father of Reuben Lovett (1765-1819), whose daughter Amy married William Whitehurst. Elizabeth, daughter of William and Amy Whitehurst, married Jonathan W. Old (1816-1876), and their son William Whitehurst Old (1840-1911) married Alice Herbert. The Olds have been here for a long time; Edward Old owned land in Princess Anne in 1680, Thomas Old, Sr., was vestryman in 1779, and Jonathan W. Old's father was named Kedar Old. Mrs. W. W. Old's father was Edward Henry Herbert (d. 1862) of Level Green in the eastern part of the county near the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River.¹⁰⁰

In Chapter XII we told of Samuel Boush who became prominent in Norfolk Town. He had a brother Maximilian Boush (II) who was married to Elizabeth, daughter to Major James Wilson; they were parents of Frederick Boush of Kempsville and of Elizabeth who married Gershom Nimmo, the surveyor. Frederick's son was William Boush (1759-1854), who purchased the Wishard House from Lieut. Thomas Wishart in 1795. William Boush was father of William, Jr. (1791-1816) and of Elizabeth Boush (1802-1884) who married David Walke (1800-1854). William Boush and his wife Mary (1764-1822), William, Jr., and Elizabeth Boush Walke are all buried in a plot near the Wishard House; David Walke's tomb is in the churchyard at Lynnhaven Parish Church (Old Donation).¹⁰¹

Nashes—like Willoughbys, Masons, Langleys and Thelaballs—were primarily of Norfolk County. However one of its number lived in Princess Anne, and that was John Leroy Nash (b. 1840). He was son of Richard Nash (1803-1855) of Norfolk County and brother of Colonel C. A. Nash of Norfolk. John L. Nash was a trooper of Company I, 15th Virginia Cavalry, C.S.A., enlisted at 'Lynnhaven Beach' in 1861, and served to the end of the war, being surrendered by General Lee and paroled at Appomattox, 9 April 1865. He lived in Kempsville after the war, and was married to Columbia Thomson in 1866. Columbia Thomson Nash was daughter of Francis R. Thomson (1804-1879) and granddaughter of William Thomson who was married to Ann Ottley in 1803. Two of the sons of John L. and Columbia Thomson Nash were Dr. Leroy Thomson Nash and Francis Fitzhugh Nash, both of Norfolk.¹⁰²

There is little that needs to be added to what has already been given on Moseleys and Walkes. Col. Edward Moseley had a son Hillary who married Hannah Hack; their son Edward Hack Moseley was Justice, Churchwarden and a Tory, if we may judge from the fact that he was entertained by Brigadier-General Benedict Arnold when the latter was in command at

Portsmouth in 1781. Edward Hack Moseley, Jr., was not a Tory; he served as Clerk of the County Court from 1771 to 1814. The third Anthony Walke was an Episcopal minister, ordained in 1788, and served Lynnhaven Parish until 1800. His half-brother William Walke inherited the Norfolk property of his grandfather, Anthony Walke I (d. 1768) as noted in the chapters on the town and borough of Norfolk. William's mother was Mary, daughter to Edward Hack Moseley, who married the second Anthony Walke in 1757.¹⁰³

A short note to be added on Woodhouses and Lawsons: the first Henry Woodhouse was vestryman in Lynnhaven in 1640, and 256 years later in 1896, three of his descendants were still active churchmen; they were Judge John J. Woodhouse, Major John T. Woodhouse and Mr. Jonathan Woodhouse. Dr. Robert Woodhouse now lives at Virginia Beach, where he has rendered outstanding service. One of the most prominent members of the Lawson family was Dr. Thomas Lawson. Appointed Garrison Surgeon's Mate in 1811, he rose to the office of Surgeon General, U. S. Army, in 1836 with the rank of Colonel. He was appointed Brevet Brigadier General in 1848 for meritorious conduct in the War with Mexico, and remained Surgeon General (with permanent rank of Colonel) until his death in Norfolk in 1861.¹⁰⁴

In a previous chapter, we told of the immediate descendants of William Cornick (d. 1700), County Justice in 1691. His son Joel Cornick (d. 1727) built the interesting old house at Salisbury Plain south of Oceana. Two of Joel's sons bore the poetic names of Endymion and Nimrod! Joel Cornick was also the probable donor of the land on which was built the second Eastern Shore Chapel just south of his home in 1724. The third Chapel (second on this site), which was completed in 1754, had to be removed in recent years to make room for the landing of the Navy jet planes. Another branch of this family was headed by Lemuel Cornick I (d. 1773) who in about 1770 built the lovely Georgian mansion on Broad Bay, now the home of the family of the late John B. Dey. It is noteworthy that descendants of the Cornick family are still connected actively with the Eastern Shore Chapel. Louis Carter Cornick, his wife and son are respectively layreader, organist and crucifer there, over two hundred and thirty years after Joel Cornick gave the land for its original site.¹⁰⁵

Thomas Keeling (II), third generation here and probable builder of the house at "Dudlies," died in 1714, leaving three sons, of whom William married Ann daughter of Sheriff George Wishart, and the eldest Adam (d. 1771) owned "Dudlies" which he bequeathed to his son Thomas. The latter had a son Adam (d. 1805), who left two sons Adam and Solomon. This was the fifth Adam (Thomas II had a brother Adam), and Mr. Solomon Keeling was the one who related to Bishop Meade the tradition of the opening of Lynnhaven Inlet and the disappearance of the first Lynnhaven Parish Church plot.¹⁰⁶

The late Judge Benjamin Dey White of the County Circuit Court, whose

valuable writings on local history have been frequently quoted in these pages, was descended through his mother from the Dey family. While not an "old county family" in the same sense as were (for example) Thorowgoods, Walkes or Moseleys, the name of Dey has acquired some prominence and respectability in the slightly more than a century and a half that it has been established here. Lewis Dev (1758-1816), a veteran of Monmouth and Staten Island, came to Princess Anne shortly after 1790 accompanied by his son William B. Dey (1780-1832). The latter had eleven sons, six of whom grew up to raise families. The fourth of these six was Benjamin S. Dey, grandfather of Judge White and also of the late John B. Dey of Broad Bay Manor, formerly of the House of Delegates, the County Board of Supervisors and the County School Board. Other descendants of William B. Dey made a name for themselves in Norfolk, as was mentioned in Chapter XV; they were his sons Lewis C. and William, and the latter's son George W. Dey. Lewis Dey was born in Shrewsbury, Monmouth County, New Jersey, and was descended from Laurens Duyts (i.e. "the Dutchman") of New Harlem in 1639, who died in Bergen, New Jersey, in 1668. The intervening generations were Hans Laurens (b. 1644), James Hance or James Dey (1671-1745), James Dey (1706-1784), and James Dey (b. 1728); the latter was married to his first cousin Margaret Perrine of an old Jersey Huguenot family. A distant connection of Lewis Dey was Col. Theunis Dey whose mansion at Preakness was Washington's headquarters for a time during the New Jersey Campaign. An earlier Theunis Dey (b. 1656) owned the land in New York City through which present Dey Street was laid out in 1750.¹⁰⁷

NOTES ON CHAPTER XX

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. Kellam, *Princess Anne*, p. 202.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
3. 3N53.
4. 2N152, 4N36.
5. 1N56.
6. 1N20.
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99. *Lower Norfolk County Records, Princess Anne County Records, Beaufort and Pitt Counties (N. C.) Records, passim*; extracts in possession of R. D. W. much too numerous to quote here.
100. Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-5, 132-4, 153, 204-6, 222.
101. *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 52-3.
102. See Chapter IV; also Adjutant General's Office Records and family Bible records in possession of R. D. W.
103. Kellam, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 177-8.
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106. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-60; see also Note 62, Chapter X.
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Chapter XXI

The Town and City of Virginia Beach

1880-1957

By Katharine Fontaine Syer

VIRGINIA BEACH MEANS sunshine and surf and summer fun to a great many people; to many others it is a home town, growing fast and quite cosmopolitan.

Its history as a town starts in 1880 when a club house was built on the ocean front at what is now 17th Street.¹ A group of sportsmen from Norfolk used it for a hunting and fishing lodge. They drove from Norfolk in horse-drawn vehicles and the road twisted and turned following old paths which attempted to avoid the many estuary branches between Norfolk and the ocean.

The members of this club were Norfolk business men and they successfully promoted adequate transportation to the beach. This idea of developing a Virginia resort similar to New Jersey's Atlantic City had been talked of for many years, but the War for Southern Independence had left Norfolk financially unable to undertake such a promotion. In 1883 with the help of northern capitalists a corporation known as the Norfolk and Virginia Beach Railroad and Improvement Company began to build both a railroad and an elaborate hotel. The narrow gauge railroad connected Norfolk and the old Princess Anne Hotel on the ocean front at what is now Sixteenth Street. Both were completed in 1887 and Virginia Beach was born.

In those days the railroad ran only as far as Broad Creek and visitors to the resort boarded a steamer at the foot of East Main Street in Norfolk, which carried them up the Elizabeth River to the terminal on Broad Creek. The entire trip by boat and train took over an hour and the fare was fifty cents.

In about 1900 this road was changed to standard gauge and a trestle built across Broad Creek so that passengers went all the way into Norfolk on the train. The ownership of the railroad and the hotel had changed hands several times and in 1900 the railroad was taken over by The Norfolk and Southern.

In 1902 the Chesapeake Transit Company built a competing road to Virginia Beach via Cape Henry and operated the first electric street cars to the resort. In a few years the Norfolk and Southern was able to buy the



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

VIRGINIA BEACH—THE OLD PRINCESS ANNE HOTEL IN 1888.
THE HOTEL BURNED IN 1907

electric line and to electrify its own trains so that a transportation loop was formed running from Norfolk through both Virginia Beach and Cape Henry and then back to town. This was a favorite street car ride on Sunday afternoons in the days before the automobile took over. Steam engines and electric coaches used the same roadbed.

The grand hotel, the Old Princess Anne, stood on the waterfront between 15th and 16th Streets. It was steam heated and had elevator service. Wealthy northern families used it as a winter resort and the beach was advertised as such. The hotel was elegant and luxurious in the manner of hotels of the gay nineties and it was a mecca for honeymooners. It set a pattern for the great resort that Virginia Beach has become.

The original acres purchased by the development company were divided into lots and many Norfolk people built cottages for use in summer. By 1889 there were fourteen cottages and another smaller hotel, the Ocean View.

The late Bishop Beverly D. Tucker held the first church services at Virginia Beach in his cottage and later raised funds for an inter-denominational church called Galilee Chapel By the Sea. This building later became an Episcopal Church. When a new Galilee Church was built on the ocean front and 18th Street in 1926, the chapel was moved to the back of the lot and named Tucker Hall. This past year, 1957, Galilee Episcopal Church completed a new church and parish house near the Cavalier Hotel to meet the needs of its large congregation. Over the years other congregations have assembled and other houses of worship have been built, until most of the major religious denominations and sects are now represented here. The most important of them are Temple Emanuel, Star of the Sea (Roman Catholic), Virginia Beach Methodist, the Good Shepherd (Lutheran), First Presbyterian, First Baptist and Friends Meeting.

The first brick house to be built at Virginia Beach was built in 1895 by Mr. B. F. Holland for his bride. Mr. Holland had come to Virginia Beach in 1886 and when the town was incorporated in 1906, Mr. Holland was the first mayor. This brick house was sold in 1909 to the deWitt family who have lived in it for a half a century. The house is a landmark on the ocean front at 10th Street.

By 1906, a great many people were living in the town of Virginia Beach the year around. The first school was held in a building on 14th Street which also housed the Town Hall and the jail. This was an ungraded school and was taught by Mrs. Willet. The Willoughby T. Cooke School, which is now used as an elementary school, was built in 1913.

Many of these people commuted to Norfolk every day. The following reminiscences on this subject were recently written:

There are many people alive today who remember seeing in their lifetime the rise and fall of railroad transportation in Princess Anne County. From an

old schedule dated 1906, I find that sixteen passenger trains ran from Norfolk via both Cape Henry and Virginia Beach each day. A great many children went to school in Norfolk by train and businessmen living in the county commuted to the city. Also the housewives went into the city to shop. In addition, there were excursion trains all Summer bringing groups of people for a day at the Beach. Sunday Schools from all over the State had annual picnics in the Old Casino pavilion (31st Street) each year.

The electric trains to Virginia Beach started from Monticello and City Hall Avenue and ran out Monticello to Princess Anne Road, much of which was unpaved. Many will remember the old dance trains that carried groups of young ladies and their escorts to the Casino at Virginia Beach for dancing each evening. They were called "The One-Step Special" or "The Two-Step Special" depending on which dance was popular. Later trains for the Beach left Union Station and others started from a terminal in Brambleton.

The people who commuted from the Beach to Norfolk for years remember the various kinds of trains: first the regular coaches, then the lumbering old trolley cars and the open street cars used in Summer, and last were the rail buses that traveled at a great rate of speed.

The conductors on the old Norfolk Southern trains knew all of the commuters. There were morning papers to be had and the trip constituted a real social affair.

The same men worked on the cars for years and were called captains. Captains Mister, Milla, House, Simmons, Swan, Gettle, Burnham, Sawyer, Middleton, Lum, Butt, Winston, Barson, Reed, Rose, Stafford, Foy and Lambert all had many friends among the passengers.

It was the building of a hard surfaced highway in 1920 that marked the beginning of the end of railroad transportation. Even the streamlined diesel railbus could not compete with private automobiles and highway buses. The old commuter trains became a memory.¹

With the new six-lane boulevard to the Beach crowded with traffic as it is today, there are many who yearn for the return of a commuter train.

Shortly after 1900, there were three general stores in Virginia Beach: Sorrey's and Holland's on 17th Street near the train station on Pacific Avenue and Etheridge's on Cypress Avenue. Meredith had a drug store on 16th Street. The amusement pavilion at 31st Street (Sea Pines) is now familiarly known as the "Old Casino;" the "New Casino" was at or near 9th Street at the south end, where the rail line from Norfolk came in.

The old wooden board walk, with the summer houses, made a perfect place for promenading. Ocean bathing was indulged in only during the early morning and late afternoon hours. Noonday sun was dangerous, so vacationists rocked and chatted on verandas during most of the day. Everything was done to prevent, rather than acquire sunburn. So important was it

to keep the complexion lily white, that poultices of cornmeal and buttermilk were endured to bleach the tan and remove freckles.

There is no finer experience for the palate in this section of Virginia than eating Lynnhaven oysters. The bivalves are advertized and served in all the good restaurants now, but at the turn of the century, Cape Henry was the mecca for oyster eaters because of O'Keefe's Casino. This Casino was just as famous as the Princess Anne Hotel.

In 1902 the Chesapeake Transit Co. completed its railroad to Cape Henry. At this same time there was a young man with a dream waiting to fulfill his destiny. William J. O'Keefe had started his business life with an ice cream shop in the basement of the fabulous Princess Anne Hotel on 16th Street at Virginia Beach. He and his sister later ran a small hotel, called O'Keefe's Inn on the southeast corner of 16th and Atlantic Avenue. This building became the Courtney Terrace when it was jacked up and moved over to the ocean front.

O'Keefe was always fascinated by Cape Henry.² Evenings after his work at Virginia Beach was done he would set out for his walk. This walk was up the beach to Cape Henry about eight miles away. The Life Saving Stations at 26th Street and at Cape Henry were—like all the others—exactly six miles apart, and the two lighthouses at Cape Henry were the landmarks. O'Keefe, himself was to add another landmark when he built his famous oyster house, O'Keefe's Casino, on the ocean front directly in line with the little brick train station at Cape Henry. There were no roads to Cape Henry then and the people came on the trains to enjoy the O'Keefe oysters. On New Year's Eve, O'Keefe's was the place to go. The guests danced until midnight when an elaborate dinner of oysters, raw, roasted or fried and Smithfield ham was served. After such a dinner it is hard to imagine, but the guests danced again until morning. Dr. Robert Woodhouse, of Virginia Beach, knew O'Keefe well and it is interesting to hear him tell of another big event at O'Keefe's. The occasion was the visit of President Taft to Norfolk in 1909. A party and reception was arranged for Taft at the Casino. Taft rode the cars to Cape Henry and waiting for him in front of the train station was an automobile. This belonged to Mr. Charles J. Colonna of the Marine Railway. It was a real curiosity in 1909 and had been sent ahead to Cape Henry on a flat car. President Taft rode in the automobile in a straight line down the brick walk from the station to O'Keefe's, a distance of about one hundred yards. Everyone who could be there was there. Dr. Woodhouse says that O'Keefe had announced a beauty contest for the day. The beauties were oysters. He offered a prize for the prettiest barrel of oysters brought in by his regular oyster suppliers.

Shepherd James, Henry Braithwait and Dr. Woodhouse's father, Robert Woodhouse, oystered on the east side of Lynnhaven River and Tony Ewell

and R. A. Mapp were among the oystermen from the other side of the River. These men had supplied O'Keefe with oysters for a long time and when the barrels of oysters started arriving at Cape Henry to honor President Taft, O'Keefe looked them all over carefully. When the time arrived to choose the winner, O'Keefe found the decision was an impossible one. He had to call off his beauty contest for they were all too beautiful.

Mr. O'Keefe had courted and married one of the guests who came to the Princess Anne Hotel from Canada. She learned to love Cape Henry as her husband did. Their life there created a legend.

In 1916, The Princess Anne Country Club was organized and an eighteen-hole golf course laid out. The present club house was built high on a hill at a part of the Beach then called Sea Pines. The first World War slowed up this project, but the club house was opened in 1920 and the golf course completed the following year. This sporty course was designed by a well-known Norfolk architect, Clarence A. Neff, with the help of Walter Becket, a golf professional. Mr. Neff was such an interested organizer of the Princess Anne Country Club, he was made first president. He and his friends fought unpleasant odds against sand, marsh, mosquitoes and crows, who stole the balls as they were played.

The war in Europe created a need for coastal defense and in 1914 the State of Virginia gave 343.1 acres of land at Cape Henry for a fort. The fort was officially named, by a War Department Order in 1916, for Major General John Patten Story, who had been a teacher in the Coast Artillery School at Fort Monroe. General Story was born in Wisconsin on August 8, 1841.³ He entered the United States Military Academy in 1861 and was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in 1865. He served with the Infantry, Artillery, and Signal Corps. In 1904 he was promoted to Brigadier General and was appointed Chief of Artillery. In 1905 he was retired, at his own request, after more than forty years of active service. General Story is responsible for many of the developments in range-finding apparatus and in the science of gunnery in the latter part of the 1800's. The job of this Coast Artillery post was to guard the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. Until 1948, the post had the heaviest armament on the Atlantic Coast. The Navy maintained a Harbor Entrance Control unit here which kept tabs on shipping and movement both on the water and sub-surface.

The first Transportation Corps unit, the 458th Amphibious Truck Company came to the post in 1946 and two years later Fort Story was taken over by the Transportation Corps. Their mission at the post is to train personnel working with amphibious trucks, such as the dependable DUKW* which was developed in one month during World War II when engineers working

* Pronounced "duck"; a term made up of the code symbols indicating a 1942-model utility vehicle with four-wheel drive.

without plans put a boat hull on a standard GP 2½ ton truck. Advanced equipment is tested and used on the beaches of the post, such as the mammoth BARC** the world's largest amphibious vehicle. The only fourteen, currently in use by the Armed Services, are based at Fort Story. These BARCs weigh 98 tons and have power tires more than nine feet in diameter with four diesel engines, and can carry up to 100 tons of cargo on either land or water.

During World War II, a large hospital was located at Fort Story. A total of 13,472 wounded men were treated here. This hospital closed when the war was over.

A part of the air defense of the port area at Norfolk, and military bases in Tidewater, is the NIKE guided-missile battery situated at Fort Story, which would work in cooperation with the Tactical Air Command at Langley Air Force Base in the event of an attack.

Additional land was acquired by condemnation and purchase, before and during the second World War and this post now has three and three-quarters miles of beach and covers 1,394 acres. This post, tiny by comparison with most Army installations, does a big job. Its troop complement is less than half the size of an Infantry regiment, yet it conducts all the Army's initial amphibious truck training.

When the second World War came in 1941, the Navy took over the Cavalier Hotel, the largest and most elegant hotel at Virginia Beach. This beautiful hotel had been built atop the dunes north of Sea Pines. Its formal gardens and its imposing architecture have made it a show place. The Cavalier started a new era at the Beach when it opened The Cavalier Beach Club with its cabanas in 1930.

The Virginia National Guard Rifle Range at the southern end of the Beach had changed its name whenever the Commonwealth changed its Governor. During World War II it was taken over by the U. S. Army for a training center and became Camp Pendleton.

The influx of military personnel rented every available cottage and room. Blackouts were rigidly enforced. No one was allowed on the beach from sundown until sunrise. Those people who lived on the ocean front could see the activities of the German submarines with their naked eyes from their own front doors. Oil from sunken ships coated the beach.

The following instances of torpedoing are officially listed as occurring off the Virginia shores:⁴

On January 30, 1942, the men at Cape Henry heard a dull rumble as the tanker *Rochester*, of 6836 gross tonnage, exploded and was sent to the bottom with the loss of three of her crew of thirty-five. On the night of February 16,

** Barge, Amphibious, Resupply, Cargo.

1942, during a dense fog, the keeper at Cape Henry Light heard whistles coming from a vessel evidently proceeding out to sea. Suddenly there was the sound of a torpedo explosion followed a short time later by another blast. The keeper learned that the tanker *E. H. Blum* had been torpedoed, but that every man aboard, in spite of the dense fog, had been picked up from the four lifeboats. Captain W. L. Evans of the *Blum* reported that they had launched the boats into a calm sea with the visibility zero. There were sixty-nine sailors in all. On March 20, 1942, the tanker *Oakmar* was torpedoed off the Virginia Beach shore.

Early in the morning of April 1, 1942, the keeper at Cape Henry Light heard the distant thunder of what apparently was a torpedo explosion, and soon the entire coast guard personnel in the vicinity was alerted. Out at sea the coast guard cutter *Jackson* discovered, around two o'clock that morning, that the *S. S. Tiger* had been hit, and that all survivors had already been transferred to YP52. When dawn came the *Jackson* reached the damaged craft and began to take her in tow toward Norfolk, but the tanker listed dangerously at eleven o'clock that morning and finally sank by the stern. As it was only sixty feet deep where the *Tiger* went down, her bow, stacks and masts still projected from the water.

Shortly after nine o'clock the following night, the men on duty at Cape Henry again heard explosions, apparently gunfire. Shortly thereafter the coast guard cutter *Legare* arrived on the scene just as a vessel was going down. She was the *David H. Atwater*. The cutter *Legare* after cruising the area came upon one lifeboat in which there was the dead body of a sailor, wearing a life-jacket from the *Atwater*. The coast guard vessel 218 picked up another life boat in which there were three dead men and three survivors. Nine more bodies were located the next day, all of them wearing lifejackets from the *David H. Atwater*, and later four more bodies were found. The *Atwater* had been sunk by gunfire, and one lifeboat had been machine-gunned.

On April 15th, the freighter *Robin Hood* was torpedoed with heavy loss of life. On April 30th the freighter *Alcoa Skipper* sank with several lives lost.

On September 21st, 1942, the U-boats were again successful off the Virginia Capes and sent the barge *Druid Hill* to the bottom. Several months later the freighter *John Morgan*, traveling in convoy, was sunk just off Cape Henry Light on June 1, 1943. The last such action off the Virginia coast was the torpedoing of the 8300 ton steamship *Swiftscout* on April 18 1945.

After the peace, prosperity followed and this stretch of beach from Cape Henry to Rudee Inlet, which less than a hundred years ago was uninhabited, was in 1906 incorporated as a town, and in 1952 became a city of the second class. The original 1,600 acres purchased by the development company mushroomed as transportation improved and, when post-war building got under way, Virginia Beach stretched and expanded to the limit of the ten miles of sand beach.

The Virginia Beach Art Association in the last few years has promoted an

interest in painting and their annual Boardwalk Art Show has become an event which is looked forward to by both artists and spectators. The concert series brought to the beach by the Music Club is well patronized and is appreciated by the permanent residents. A new and modern public library will soon be the result of a wide community drive in which most of the civic organizations of the beach have worked. The town also enjoys a very active Little Theater group, which functions during the winter months. For the past ten years, during the summer, Leslie Savage has brought the best Broadway plays to her "Theater-Go-Round" where her stock company performed in a tent most of this time.

The coast from Virginia Beach to Cape Henry is geographically a continuation of the barrier reef which forms the coast of the Carolinas. This barrier reef protects the great harbor of Hampton Roads. Erosion is one of the worst words in the English language at Virginia Beach. The city fathers have tried many things to prevent Nature from exerting her prerogative of change. At Virginia Beach a concrete promenade was built years ago to hold back the sea. This is still called "the board-walk" for the structure which it replaced. Great quantities of sand have been piped long distances to fill out the beach. At Cape Henry the sands in Fort Story have been stabilized with planting.

In the sixteenth century Spanish explorers mapped this coast and their expeditions left many ships wrecked up and down the beaches. The wild ponies of Chincoteague are said to be the survivors of a Spanish wreck.

There was a Spanish expedition in 1570, which entered the Capes in early autumn. Did they anchor in one of the inlets which their maps show to have existed then near Crystal Lake? This group sailed into the Chesapeake Bay. There the Ajacán Indians pretended friendship, but as soon as the winter set in, the entire group who had tried to convert the Indians to Christianity—five priests and four novices of the Society of Jesus—were murdered and the church which the Indians had helped them build was destroyed.⁵

Later, in 1584, 1585, 1587 and 1590, Sir Walter Raleigh sent expeditions to Roanoke Island. Their records show that a party of Englishmen came up the coast but did not reach Cape Henry. They were told of an important Indian Village which stood about where Norfolk was founded.

In 1607, the Englishmen who came ashore at Cape Henry from the three little sailing vessels, the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed* and the *Discovery*, found the shore west of Cape Henry a pleasing spot. Captain Christopher Newport had chosen the *Susan Constant* for his flag ship. Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, an old Raleigh man, he put in charge of the *Godspeed*, and Captain John Ratcliffe took charge of the *Discovery*. These three ships carried one hundred and four souls. Storm driven and in despair, they had furled their sails and ridden out a gale off Cape Hatteras. For three days thereafter

Newport had sounded and had been unable to touch bottom at a hundred fathoms. There had been talk of turning back, but fate willed it otherwise. The next morning they made their landfall at Cape Henry.

Captain George Percy has given us the best account of this trip and landing; he wrote as follows:

The six and twentieth day of April, about four o'clock in the morning, we descried the land of Virginia.

The same day we entered into the Bay of Chesupioc directly, without any let or hinderance. There we landed and discovered . . . fair meadows and goodly tall trees, with such fresh waters running through the woods as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof.⁶

The springs and cypress pools behind Cape Henry in Seashore State Park were the "fresh running waters." After moderate rain these waters run in a northwesterly direction.

Twenty-eight of the party landed, taking the precaution to carry their arms with them. They stayed on shore all day, greatly enjoying the relief from the confinement on shipboard. Nothing happened during the day to indicate that they were going to be attacked, but Percy tells us that:

At night, when we were going aboard, there came the savages creeping upon all four, from the hills, like bears, with their bows in their mouths, charged us very desperately in the faces, hurt Captain Gabriel Archer in both his hands, and a sailor [Matthew Morton] in two places in his body very dangerous. After they had spent their arrows, and felt the sharpness of our shot, they retired into the woods with a great noise, and so left us.⁷

Percy also described the second day:

The seventh and twentieth day we began to build up our shallop. The gentlemen and soldiers marched eight miles up into the land. We could not see a savage in all that march. We came to a place where they had made a great fire, and had been newly roasting oysters. When they preceived our coming, they fled away to the mountains, and left many of the oysters in the fire. We ate some of the oysters, which were very large and delicate in taste.⁸

The mountains to which Percy refers were the giant tree-covered sand dunes which rise nearly a hundred feet high at Cape Henry. The oysters were the famous Lynnhaven oysters which are still "large and delicate in taste." It was on the twenty-ninth of April that the company set up a cross at the place they named Cape Henry. The planting of a cross was the regular procedure to show to all others who might follow them that representatives of a Christian nation had been there and claimed the country. Because of the shifting dunes, it is impossible to determine exactly where the cross was set up. In recent years the Society of Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America placed the gray stone cross which now honors the brave men of this expedi-

tion near the ocean. Once a year, on the Sunday nearest the date of their landing, a service is held in their memory. This shrine was dedicated on 26 April 1935.

Cape Henry had other visitors of whom we have no written records. Pirates and wreckers are said to have used the sand wastes as headquarters for their unlawful activities. There are many tales of Blackbeard and treasure, and there have been serious attempts made to find the pirate gold, as well as a great many picnics planned with the same idea. On the edge of Long Creek (between Lynnhaven and Broad Bay) there is a hill, higher than the other dunes which is called Blackbeard's Hill.

Legend says that, when the Cape was marked with a beacon fire to help vessels make a safe night passage through the Capes, wreckers captured the men in charge of the beacon and then moved the fire southward. This brought the ships aground at Cape Henry, where the wreckers were waiting.

For the first fifty years after the settlement at Jamestown, vessels bound thereto had to sail in between the Capes, cross Chesapeake Bay, and find their way up the river as best they could. With increasing trade this condition had to be remedied. The first effort was made in 1660, when Capt. William Oewin was made "cheife pilotte of James River" and was ordered to "Maintaine good and sufficient beacons . . ." ⁹ This arrangement seems to have been satisfactory, for sixty years passed before Governor Spotswood sent the following message to the Assembly:

24 November 1720

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses:

I send you a Petition which I lately received containing some proposals for Building and Keeping a Light House at Cape Henry, and at the same time I inform you that application hath heretofore been made by some considerable persons in the Government of Maryland to the end that the Assemblies of both Colonys might be moved to concur in the like Design, wherefore, if you think fit to come into any measures for that purpose with a Proviso that Maryland perform their part, I shall readily hand to the Governour of that Province your resolutions on that head.¹⁰

The industrious people of Boston had recently finished a lighthouse in 1716. Merchants and mariners were impressed with its advantages. Governor Spotswood was unable to arouse sufficient local interest so wrote to the British Board of Trade asking that a beacon be built at Cape Henry.¹¹

The Board of Trade did investigate the governor's suggestion, but found that many influential people in Maryland were against the undertaking, claiming that the use of a good lead line was far superior to any such new idea. The Virginia Assembly passed an Act in February, 1727/8, "for erecting a Lighthouse on Cape Henry," which law was "not assented to by the King."^{11a}

During the next half century the Burgesses passed three more Resolutions and appointed several committees, attempting to build a lighthouse. On 10 September 1773, Mr. Nicholas, Treasurer of the Colony, ordered from John Norton and Son, of London, material and equipment for building the lighthouse at Cape Henry, as well as material for other aids to navigation: buoys, copper plates and hoops. A little over a month later, instructions were forwarded arranging for the consignment of this material to Thomas Newton, Jr., a prominent merchant of Norfolk. Finally in 1774, *The Virginia Gazette* of April 28th carried the following advertisement:

Notice is hereby given that a number of vessels will be wanted this summer to bring about 6,000 tons of stone from Mr. Brook's quarry on Rappahannock, and land the same on Cape Henry for the Light House.

This effort, started in 1774, seemed to be strong and resolute, but the American Revolution stopped further efforts, and the Council of the Commonwealth of Virginia ordered:

That for safety of the trade of the Commonwealth there be immediately set upon the point of land at Cape Henry on a staff 50 ft. high at least, a white flag striped with red to be constantly kept hoisted in the day when no enemy is within the Capes, and taken down when an enemy appears; that there also be hoisted on the said staff a proper light to be constantly burning in the night time when no enemy is within the Capes and taken down on the approach of the enemy.

After American Independence had been won and the Constitution adopted, the first session of the first Congress of the United States enacted a law for "Establishment and Support of Light Houses, Beacons, Buoys and Public Piers." Only one specific location was mentioned. "That a lighthouse shall be erected near Chesapeake Bay." This was approved by George Washington, President of the United States, and on 9 August 1790 the Commonwealth of Virginia ceded two acres of land at Cape Henry to the new Federal Government,¹² where in 1791, a contract was signed by Alexander Hamilton, representing the government, and John McComb, Jr., "Bricklayer," for the erection of the Cape Henry Light. John McComb, Jr., was a master architect of post-colonial style. He designed the Old City Hall in New York City.

The construction contract was for \$15,200 and the building proceeded rapidly. Mr. McComb came to Cape Henry to live while the building was accomplished. The highest hill at the Cape was chosen. Here it was necessary to excavate to a depth of twenty feet before the sand hardened sufficiently to lay the foundation. At the moment of laying the foundation fifty tons of sand slid into the excavation, which delayed the work for a long time. The diameter of the lighthouse base measured nearly thirty feet at the lowest point,

twenty feet below the surface of the ground, and gradually sloped inward to a diameter of sixteen feet six inches at the top of the tower.¹³ It was built of Rappahannock free-stone and was octagonal in shape.

The first lighthouse keeper was Laban Goffigan, and it is thought he first lighted the tower in October, 1792, using sperm oil for fuel. As years passed different types of oil were used. In 1812, an Argand lamp with metallic reflectors was installed. In 1855, a fog bell, known as the Jones bell was set up. Two years later, in 1857, a brick lining was built within the tower from top to bottom and a dioptic Fresnel lens was installed. This light was visible for twenty-four miles.

During the War Between the States, the Cape Henry light was removed by force. Captain John H. Drew, of Norfolk, was Assistant Keeper in 1862-63. In June of 1934 he visited the old lighthouse and said that in April 1861, at about the same time that Norfolk and Portsmouth were evacuated by the Confederates, men from Princess Anne County, being unwilling for the United States Government to maintain the lighthouse, attacked it, and destroyed the lamps and the lens. A Federal lightship was moored off the coast and took over the duties of the Cape Henry Light for a while. By 1863 the light was repaired and renovated and was operating again.¹⁴

In 1872, the District Engineer made a personal visit to the old tower. Of the eight faces, he explained, six of them showed large cracks, with the north and south faces particularly dangerous. He concluded his report, "At present the tower is in an unsafe condition, and there is no way of repairing the damage satisfactory, and a new one must be built."¹⁵

Six years later, in 1878 Congress appropriated \$75,000 to build a new tower. This was to be 150 feet high and was to rest upon a mass of concrete, extending eight feet below the surface of the ground. It was to be made of iron. By 1880, the cast iron work was being assembled at the Philadelphia foundry of Morris, Tasker & Company. The beautiful brass and crystal lens was made in Paris in the same year, 1880. This lens is still in use today, with a small change in the source of its light. The brass oil drum with its metal wick now rests empty beneath the powerful electric lights (160,000 candle-power). A temporary pier was built in August of 1880, in an attempt to ease the landing of equipment and supplies. However, the first freight car to run out on the wharf plunged through into the water. Inspection revealed that marine borers had destroyed the foundations of the pier. The builders set to work immediately to remove everything which had been on the dock. The iron plates were the most valuable of the stores and they were successfully removed three hours before the entire pier fell into the sea.

This was in September 1880. With bad weather facing them, the engineer and contractor decided to construct a tramway from the lighthouse site to Lynnhaven Inlet, seven miles away, where ships could dump their

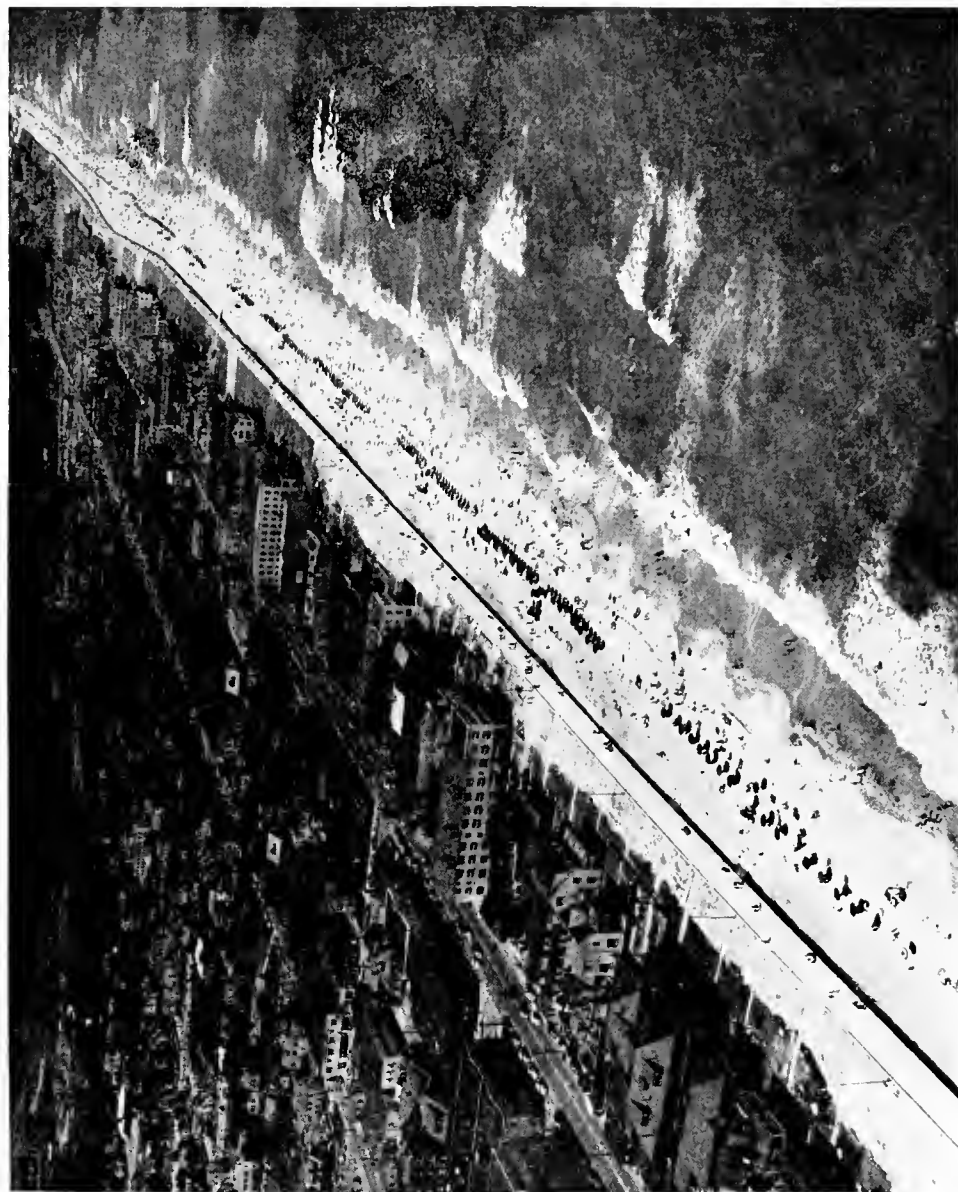
materials with more ease. Railway cars were to carry the materials to the building site of the lighthouse. Hauling was started in May of 1881, and by the next November the tallest fully enclosed cast-iron lighthouse in the United States was completed. The Cape Henry Light is of the "group flash" type, flashing three times (two short and one long) every 20 seconds. It is thus distinguished from other lights in the bay: Cape Charles Light, also a "group flash" light, flashes forty-five (four and five) every 60 seconds; Thimble Shoal Light, off Willoughby Spit, is "occulting" (revolving) and flashes every 2 seconds; and Old Point Light formerly "fixed," now flashes twice. This enables mariners entering the bay to identify these lights with certainty.

The lighthouse service of the United States was formerly under the Department of Commerce. However, in 1939 the lighthouses were turned over to the Treasury Department, and the Cape Henry Lighthouse is under the command of the Fifth Coast Guard District which operates under that agency.

The windmills of Princess Anne and Virginia Beach would have faded away completely except for researches of Louisa Venable Kyle, whose imagination was captured a few years ago by an unknown artist's picture which hangs on the wall in Dr. Robert Woodhouse's office at Virginia Beach. The picture is in watercolor and is signed S. W. J. It is a picture of the old Episcopal Mission called "The Chapel by the Sea," which was near Dam Neck with part of the scenery, and close by the Chapel were two post-type windmills. This little picture was painted in 1890 by a gentleman guest at the Princess Anne Hotel, who presented it to a lady.

These mills were built to grind corn and wheat. The mill house and sail were built high up upon a well-braced post and could be swung around to catch the wind. The mill had four sails or vanes that reached almost to the ground and had a spread of fifty feet. These mills were operating just after the Revolutionary War was over and continued to operate until the turn of the last century. There were two mills, called "The White Mill" and "The Black Mill" on either side of the Sandbridge Road where it met the ocean. There were the two mills at Dam Neck, one owned by David Malbone and the other by Captain Bailey Barco. There was one mill on the Macon farm, which is now Camp Pendleton. In those days there was one more road that ended on the beach up near Crystal Lake.

The stretch of beach from Cape Henry, south, past Cape Hatteras and Cape Lookout to Cape Fear has been known as a trap for vessels since the time of the early Spanish explorers. It is known to all mariners as the "Graveyard of the Atlantic." The timbers and ribs of old and new vessels wrecked on this barrier reef line this beach and disappear and reappear as storms change the shifting sand. The reason these waters are the travel lanes of the ships of the world is the usefulness of the Gulf Stream. It is a powerful current which the first explorers of the West Indies



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

VIRGINIA BEACH—AERIAL VIEW
ATLANTIC AVENUE AND "BOARDWALK"

found saved time for them. The return trip to Spain was north from the Caribbean along the Gulf Stream until they sighted Hatteras and then due east. This was the quickest trip home. When English mariners traveled to Virginia they found the best route was south from England to the Canary Islands, then west on the Equatorial Current to the Indies and north with the Gulf Stream.¹⁶ Shoals, like grasping fingers reach out from the sand reef to grab any vessel which is weak or foundering. When the great Atlantic boils up and the hurricane flags fly from these Capes, all craft seek shelter or run for the open sea. So it was, and still is—the advantages have outweighed the risk of shipwreck, and trans-oceanic, trans-continental and coastwise shipping still ply this course. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the Life-Saving Service was established to help lower the loss of life. It operated under the Department of Commerce until 1915 when it became a part of the United States Coast Guard. About the same time the "new" lighthouse was being built at Cape Henry (1881), the Seatack Life Saving Station started its operation about seven miles south of the lighthouse on the lonely beach. The name Seatack was the local name for that part of the beach where the British had made an amphibious landing during the War of 1812. During the sixty years which had passed between the attack and the building of the life saving station, the local people had changed "Sea Attack" to "Seatack." The Life-Saving Stations were built at intervals of exactly six miles; beside the ones at Cape Henry and Seatack, others were at Dam Neck, Little Island and False Cape and on down the coast to Cape Fear to guard this "Graveyard." In the early days, before tourists, the beach was used only by fishermen and seamen. Many seamen made their homes on the ocean's edge after experiencing shipwreck there. These people bred a special race of men whose bravery and heroism in fighting the sea have had no equal, and it was these men who manned the first life-saving stations. The story of this service is just as much an epic of America as the growth of the west. This should be a fertile field for true adventure stories for the television producers. With improved communications and more accurate weather forecasting, the Coast Guard has seen fit to close some of the Life-Saving Stations on this coast, but the work still calls for brave men, for the sea still takes its toll.

The best remembered and most talked of shipwrecks are the ones which were witnessed by the most people. Of these the *Dictator* is probably the best known. The wooden figurehead of this Norwegian ship was a landmark at 16th Street and the Ocean for many years. In 1891, on March 27th she went aground at what is now 37th Street. She was bound for England from Pensacola, Florida and loaded with lumber. After her cargo became waterlogged from leaks caused by storms, she foundered just north of Seatack Station. A breeches-buoy wire was gotten to the ship and the survivors slid to dry land with hungry waves licking at their heels.¹⁷ The Norwegian captain

of the *Dictator* was J. M. Jorgensen. As many ship's captains did, Jorgensen had his wife and infant son sailing with him. As the survivors slid in to safety, Captain Jorgensen pleaded with his wife to take their son in her arms and join the people on the shore. Mrs. Jorgensen refused to leave the ship without her husband. The poor woman was not to be persuaded, although her husband assured her he could make the land by himself even if he had to swim. The picture changed swiftly and before a decision could be reached the mast fell and the lines became tangled. The breeches-buoy was put out of order by the mass and tangle of ropes, leaving an unfavored few on board. Captain Jorgensen took his small son in his tired arms and started swimming toward the shore through the surf. His wife swam as best she could behind them. Both of his loved ones lost their lives that night, and their bodies were cast up on the beach.

The figure head from the *Dictator*, a buxom Scandinavian lady carved from wood, washed up at 16th Street where she was placed upon a pedestal and became a sort of mascot of Virginia Beach. With patching and painting she stood until 1953 when she was retired to the City Garage.¹⁸ Money is the champion she now needs to return her to her former position.

One of the most violent storms to hit Virginia Beach occurred April 7, 1889. That night more than two dozen ships were wrecked between Cape Henry and Cape Hatteras. The *Benjamin F. Poole* of Providence, Rhode Island, bound for Baltimore to load coal, was high in the water. Her skipper, Captain Hjalmar Charlton tried to make the Virginia Capes when the storm hit. After he and his crew were exhausted and there was no hope of making a safe anchorage he took his only chance and ran aground. The high tide and wind set his four-masted schooner high on the beach in front of the fashionable old Princess Anne Hotel. The entire ship's company was brought safely ashore in a breeches-buoy by the men from Seatack Life Saving Station.¹⁹

Captain A. L. Barco, a retired member of the Life Saving Service, was a boy of fifteen when the *Benjamin F. Poole* came ashore. He remembered that Captain Edward Drinkwater was in charge of the rescue and that other members of the Seatack Station at that time included J. W. Robinson, John W. Sparrow, Jimmy Herrick and a Mr. Johnston. There were others on duty there also.

The Merritt Wrecking Company took charge and several attempts were made to float the ship, but to no avail. Realizing that only a very abnormal high tide could float the vessel, the wrecking company built a coffer dam around the ship by putting sheet piling into the sand and then the sand around the schooner was dug out by hand, forming a sort of dry dock. A hawser of rope, some ten inches in circumference, was put to the sea side with the anchor off shore marked by a buoy.

Storms came and went and for seventeen months the *Benjamin F. Poole*

rested on shore at Virginia Beach. During a northeaster which lasted for three days her salvage was accomplished. The storm began on September 28, 1890 and on the following day the wrecking tug pulled up the anchor and by heaving on the cable, was able to move the *Poole* fifty feet in spite of the high seas. Before the storm blew itself out, the big schooner was afloat and was



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

VIRGINIA BEACH—CAVALIER YACHT AND COUNTRY CLUB

towed into port to be overhauled. After she was repaired, she sailed for many years.

The beaux and belles and honeymooners of the "gay nineties" who patronized the old Princess Anne Hotel, walked around this stranded ship and enjoyed it as a "conversation piece" for seventeen months, but very few knew that Captain Charlton, who was living on his stranded schooner, was a honeymooner himself the last three months his ship was aground. In 1956—just sixty-six years later—the bride, Matilda Charlton, was quoted in an interview for a local newspaper as follows:

Gladly will I go back sixty-six years and tell you what I remember of Virginia Beach in 1890. It consisted of fourteen cottages and two hotels, the elite Princess Anne, and the Ocean View. There was a foot boardwalk from the Princess Anne and a very sandy walk of about a hundred feet to the vessel in which I lived for three months. The vessel was a very large and

beautiful four-masted schooner, and during that summer we had many visitors come aboard.

I remember vividly my experience when the northeaster began on September 28, 1890 and continued until October 3rd. My husband, the ship's captain, thinking I would be safer off the ship, wrapped me in oil skins and he and the pilot Captain Cunningham from Norfolk, attempted to escort me from the ship. The wind was howling and the beach had been cut away at least four feet high. Between the two men I was finally landed at the Seatack Life Saving Station, where I spent the night.

I could hear the roar of the breakers and knowing my husband was aboard the ship I was almost frantic. To make matters worse, Captain Drinkwater of the Life Saving Station said, "She will break up and I will use her cabin panels for a new home." However, the vessel weathered the gale and I withstood the night.

The vessel had moved fifty feet and as the storm continued, I was again wrapped in oil skins and escorted to Norfolk, where I continued my journey to my home in Baltimore.

I never thought then that Virginia Beach would ever be the resort it is now.²⁰

The foot prints in the sands of Virginia Beach have many different tales to tell. What colorful actors we would have if some of them could return! What amazement would be felt by those who found this beach a vast and lonely sand barren, if they could see the developments of the last seventy-odd years!

The first cottage was built at the ocean in 1880 and in 1952 Virginia Beach had reached the status of a city of the second class. Besides the fine old hotels that have won a reputation during the last half a century, there are the latest modern hotels and motels;* the old gray weathered shingles have given way to pastel tropical colors in tile and glass and cinder block. Gay beach umbrellas have supplanted the old black ones that vacationists once carried. Scant bathing suits are a contrast to those of grandmother's day, when bathers were fully clad, even to stockings. Here there are towering apartment buildings, swank beach clubs and cabanas; gone are the rocking chairs and the summer houses. Jet planes roar overhead; yachts are often seen in the ocean beyond the breakers. After the rail line was built from Norfolk to Cape Henry in 1902, and the loop was completed between Cape Henry and Virginia Beach (as was mentioned earlier in this chapter), the seashore to the north of Virginia Beach began to be developed as a residential resort section. It was not until after World War I (about 1925) that a hard-surface road was extended north from Sea Pines (31st Street) toward Cape

* In a recent directory there were listed over thirty-five hotels and nearly a dozen motels in and around Virginia Beach.

Henry. This area has recently been annexed to the City of Virginia Beach, and is now almost solidly built up all the way to the entrance of Fort Story Reservation. Only a few of the first cottages built in this area thirty to forty years ago now remain: for example, Dr. John Masury's house on Crystal Lake, the Cole Cottage (now Mrs. J. B. McCaw's) at 64th Street, the F. F. Nash Cottage (now Harvard Birdsong's) at 67th Street, and the F. S. Royster Cottage at 77th Street. Riding the electric cars north from Sea Pines, some of the stations which would be familiar to "old timers" were Masury's, Cole's, Nash's, and Emmerson's.

Virginia Beach has participated in the whole history of our country from the very beginning and its phenomenal growth and prosperity as a city graphically represent the "American way."

NOTES ON CHAPTER XXI

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. Kyle, "A Country Woman's Scrap Book," March 11, 1956, *Norfolk-Virginian-Pilot*.
2. Dr. J. J. O'Keefe, Jr., Norfolk, Virginia.
3. Information Service Division, Fort Story, Virginia.
4. Snow, *Famous Lighthouses of America*, p. 165.
5. See Chapter III, *supra*.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. 2H35.
10. *Journal of House of Burgess 1712-1726*, p. 277.
11. Snow, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
- 11a. 4H183.
12. 13H3; 23W(2)284.
13. Snow, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
14. Osborne, *The Old Lighthouse at Cape Henry*, p. 10.
15. Snow, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
16. Stick, *Grave Yard of the Atlantic*, p. 2.
17. Edmunds, *Tales of the Virginia Coast*, p. 153.
18. White, *Virginia Beach as it Was in the Beginning*.
19. Kyle, "A Country Woman's Scrap Book," Apr. 15, 1956, *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*.
20. *Ibid.*

Chapter XXII

The Upper County of New Norfolk or Nansemond County

1634-1957

By *Floyd McKnight*

LYING DIRECTLY EAST of Norfolk County, on the south side of the James River, is the county of Nansemond, originally called the Upper County of New Norfolk or Upper Norfolk County, 35 miles long and 19 miles wide, bisected from northeast to southwest in its northeast portion by the Nansemond River, which flows into the James. This river, which gave its name to the area it drains has its origin partially in the creeks fed by that natural mystery and wonderland of southeastern Virginia, the Great Dismal Swamp, treated separately in Chapter XXIV of this history. Nansemond County extends in north latitude from $36^{\circ} 33' 3''$ to $36^{\circ} 55' 28''$, and in west longitude from $76^{\circ} 24' 23''$ to $76^{\circ} 55' 45''$.

The river's name is of Indian origin. Its early spellings were various and phonetically based—Nansimum, Nandsamund and others. The meaning of the name is said to be "fishing point or angle," its application being in this instance to the angle or point formed by the junction of the western and southern branches of the Nansemond River.

The Nansemond tribe of Indians were numerous and powerful, as Captain John Smith found to his inconvenience upon his entrance to the region in 1608. These Indians belonged to the strong Powhatan Confederacy, ranging over a wide Virginia area and possibly part of Maryland.* The great Chief Powhatan had, by his personal qualities and dominance, increased it from only seven tribes, in addition to the one bearing his name, to thirty. Many of the place names of this region of the State perpetuate today the names of these tribes. There is record that the Spaniards** first met these tribes in 1570 when seeking to establish a mission in the Chesapeake Bay area, but the tribal role in the English establishment of the colony at Jamestown, with which they were intimately connected, remains outstanding in their background. Peace and war alternated in the early relations between these tribes and the English; and this was the case with the Nansemonds, as with the other tribes of the confederacy. Eventually they were weakened and destroyed in the course of

* See Chapter II.

** See Chapter III.

historic destiny, and the history of the Powhatan tribes practically ceased at the treaty of Albany in 1684.

The Nansemonds, with whom we are principally concerned in this chapter, had their dwellings on the banks of the Nansemond and its tributaries. Their largest settlement was at what later came to be known as Reid's Ferry on the Western Branch. Their chief lived in the region of Dumpling Island, probably the "Sharpe's Isle" of Smith's Map, near which Captain Smith and twelve companions were attacked while proceeding up the river in the summer of 1608. Throughout the county today are found relics of the ancient life of the red man—his weapons of stone and his tools. The quantities of oyster shells found in the soil along the banks of creeks and streams throughout Nansemond County today may have been left after the tribesmen's large-scale oyster roasts. The edges of Lake Drummond, which remains today a region of beauty and mystery, abound with these shell remnants, as do the hills of sand skirting the Great Dismal Swamp.

Dumpling Island, near which John Smith was attacked, was a place which the Nansemonds used to store their maize. The tribe had about 1,000 acres of cleared land nearby, on which they raised maize, melons and beans. Two or three hundred warriors defended the tribe against outside interference. And it was canoes filled with these fighting men that Captain Smith suddenly found himself facing on that eventful day when he and his companions were sailing up the Nansemond. Surrounded by the warriors, the white men naturally took recourse to their weapons, and at the sound of the first shots the Indians jumped overboard and swam quickly ashore. Smith took possession of their canoes and was about to destroy them when the Indians made signs of surrender from the banks of the river.* For the moment, the Nansemonds were willing to buy peace at the cost of "400 baskets of full corne," which the white men sorely needed to relieve the hungry colonists at Jamestown.

Thenceforth there were times of friendly relations and times of trouble between the white people and the defenders of an older American civilization. On occasion the red men launched further attacks or sought to draw the English into dangerous traps, but in more tranquil periods relations of commerce and sometimes of friendship developed between the Indians and the newcomers. As the situation actually evolved, the white people purchased the needed corn with beads and other possessions precious to the Indians in times of peace, and when the going was tougher they obtained the corn as penalty for what they could not otherwise interpret than as bad behavior on the part of the tribesmen—marauding attacks and plotting to dislodge the foothold, becoming ever firmer and firmer, of the English colonists. It is

* See Chapter III.

told that in one field, some years ago, near a large Indian spring, quantities of glass beads were found half buried—perhaps, some speculated, beads once used by the white men to purchase corn and provisions. A large beech tree stood over the spring until it, too, suffered the ravages of time. But tradition tells how this beech tree bore on its bark an undeciphered inscription. The meaning of the inscription was solved when, a few decades ago, an Indian family passed through the region and camped there for several days during which time one of their children was being treated in a Nansemond County hospital. When a white man showed the beech tree inscription to the descendants of ancient America, they at once read it in the Indian language as meaning "Nansemond." Of course, it is to be doubted whether an inscription on a tree would last 300 years; but who is to say that some more recent Indian did not carve the inscription?

After John Smith's encounter of the summer of 1608, the English colonists passed through a hard winter. In 1609 there was desperation at Jamestown. Starvation threatened. At that time Captain Smith recalled his experience up the Nansemond River, with its oyster shell banks and isles of plenty. Accordingly he ordered Captain John Martin to proceed there and found a settlement, the first away from Jamestown. Martin seized the Indian chief, captured the town called Nansemond and took the corn on Dumpling Island.* However, he was unexpectedly attacked by the Indians, who rescued their chief and carried off the 1,000 bushels of corn which were so near to being the white man's prize. Martin then fled to Jamestown, followed by his men, and Smith's plan for a settlement up the Nansemond was abandoned.

But the English colonizers did not forget the lure of Dumpling Island nor the possibilities which the junction of the Western Branch with the Nansemond's main stream suggested to their imaginations. It was but a matter of time before supremacy was to be recognized. Still, in those beginning years of the seventeenth century, there were not alone the Nansemond Indians to reckon with, but beyond them the Warrosquyoakes and the Chesapeake, both friendly with them; also the Nottoways, a word said to mean "snake" or "enemy," an Iroquois tribe, as well as the Meherrins and their offshoot tribe, the Tararas, and farther south the Chawanooks, whose name implied their southerly location on Chowan River.

The woods were veined with trails leading from one tribal settlement to another, these routes running on high ground near the rivers, which they crossed when necessary at the head of tidewater. The roads of the white settlers later followed these old trails, supplemented by ferry service which considerably shortened the total trips that had to be taken. As early as 1612 there is record that Sir Thomas Dale, with 100 men, explored the Nansemond

* See Chapter III.

River to its sources, and slowly the English began to brave the dangers of settlement.* In peacetime such processes take place slowly and often unnoticed, but when trouble comes the record is made and remembered and passed on at least as tradition. In this instance the trouble came in 1622.

In that year occurred the "Great Massacre," as it came to be known. Edward Waters and his wife were captured by the Nansemond Indians and taken to the river's mouth, where escape seemed unlikely. But one day the Indians relaxed their guard upon seeing an empty English boat which had become loosened from its moorings and drifted ashore, a veritable gift of the winds and waves to Lieutenant and Mrs. Waters, who while the Indians were occupied with the English boat escaped in a canoe and paddled to Kecoughtan.

Some inhabitants were killed in that Indian massacre, but later in the same year the English had their turn at armed success when Sir George Yeardley took 300 men into the Nansemond country and devastated much of the area. At that time the Indians lost houses and crops by fire. That war was official, and the expedition was launched through plans initiated in the Governor's Council. The Nansemonds, driven to seek shelter among their neighbor tribes because their own provisions were destroyed, were eventually forced to ask for a truce. Their numbers decreased after they went to live among the Nottoways and the Meherrins. Some refugee Indians retreated into the Dismal Swamp, from which they finally emerged to form a settlement at Bower's Hill, to the north of the swamp, in Norfolk County, adopting the language and customs of the English. Here their descendants still live in peace and plenty. But otherwise, throughout the region, most traces of Indian life and even of Indian blood are no longer evident. Much of the Indians' power was broken after they had staged another massacre in 1644 and so aroused the anger of the English that the 1644-1645 session of the Assembly ordered the inhabitants south of the James River to march upon the Indians. War was declared in 1646 upon the Nansemonds and nearby tribes, and the natives were at that time thoroughly subdued.

The success of the English was so apparent that, by October, 1646, the Assembly formally repealed acts forbidding trade with the Indians and for cutting down their corn and otherwise carrying on war against them. Afterward the Nansemond tribe dwindled until by 1669 it numbered only 45 fighting men. In 1744, no longer able to subsist by hunting, their chief means of support, they were completely joined with the Nottoways, who had also dwindled and lost their lands. Recognizing that many of the Indians were then destitute, the Assembly in that year gave special permission for them to sell 300 acres of land in Nansemond County. It had been represented to the

* See Chapter III.

Assembly, the statute read, "that the Indians of the two nations are very prone to drink spirits and other strong liquors, to a very great excess, thereby giving ill-disposed and dishonest people opportunities to make very great advantage of them, by first getting them in debt and then taking their skins, money, clothes and ammunition, by which they defeat the just trader from getting paid for furnishing them with the necessities of life." After that revelatory introduction, the act of the Assembly went on to provide for the sale of Indian lands as a means of giving the Indians the wherewithal for trade. At the same time the sale of liquor to them was prohibited, except upon payment of immediate cash. In 1791 trustees were named to sell the tribe's last remaining lands so that the proceeds might further be used for their support. The law again indicated the social aspects of the Indian problem at that time. The Indians had, it said, "become so reduced in their number as not to exceed five persons, who through old age and bodily infirmities are rendered unable to support themselves."

But long before the final subjugation of the Indians, the colonists faced countless other problems. In 1635 they were clinging to the watercourses in establishing their scant settlements. It was in that year that Governor West granted to Richard Bennett 2,000 acres on the Nansemond River for having imported forty persons.

Further land patents in the years between 1635 and 1640 were so numerous as to indicate a notable influx of population. Plantations were established. James Knott received a 1,200-acre patent during that period, and two years afterward an additional 1,500 acres. The name of Knott's Neck memorializes this grant. Other land grants went to Robert Newman, at Newman's Point, which later became Gaskins' Wharf; Thomas Tilley and a Mr. Walton, who are on record as having left land to help the poor. In 1637 alone, there were grants in Upper Norfolk County to the following: Edward Major, 450 acres on the Nansemond River, adjoining D. Gookin; Francis Hough, 800 acres on the first creek out of the Nansemond River on the south side, 100 acres on the Nansemond River itself, and a further 200 acres between Richard Bennett's land and his own previous grant; John Wilkins, 1,300 acres on the east side of the Nansemond River, along the second creek on the south side of the First Branch; Thomas Addison, 150 acres north of Daniel Gookin's property; Thomas Hampton, 700 acres on the Nansemond River and a subsequent 300 acres also on the river; William Parry, 350 acres on "the narrow" of the East Branch of the Nansemond River; John Burnett, of Edinburgh merchant, 150 acres adjoining John Gookin's land; and Mary Rogers, widow of Edward Rogers, 300 acres situated north on Crosse Creek, "provided nevertheless yt whereas the said Mary Rogers is now with child by the said Edward Rogers that if the child bee borne with life that then the

inheritance of the said land to belong to the said child," and a further 200 acres nearby.*

Bennett's patent, dated August 19, 1637, included mention of his bringing with him "Austin a Negroe," the first member of that race officially recorded as entering the district. Major Richard Bennett was a man of powerful personality and achievement, and his name became closely linked with Virginia's early history. Bennett's Pasture and Bennett's Creek bear his name. He became Governor of Virginia, and left considerable land in his parish for the benefit of the poor, as is evidenced by his will, probated April 12, 1675. At an early period he was Collector General for this district.

In 1634 Virginia was divided into eight shires after the English pattern. Nansemond was then a part of Elizabeth City Shire, which included the tip of the peninsula north of the James River and all of what is now Princess Anne, Norfolk and Nansemond counties south of the James. In 1636 the area south of the James was separated to form the county of New Norfolk, as discussed in Chapter IX, which in 1637 was divided into Upper and Lower Norfolk counties. In March, 1645/6, the name of Upper Norfolk was changed to Nansemond.*

Upper Norfolk County's first recorded representatives in the House of Burgesses were Randall Crew, John Gookin** and Tristram Norsworthy in January, 1639/40. Major Richard Bennett's influence at that period of growth and development was tremendous. In 1639 he was on the Governor's Council. He was a Roundhead, and gathered about him people of the same political and religious persuasion. In 1641 he sent his brother to New England in search of Puritan ministers for Virginia, whose custom of cropping their hair very closely led the Royalists, or Cavaliers, to give them derisively the name of "Roundheads." Throughout that period the effects of the civil war in England carried over persistently into the colonies. Accordingly, Bennett and his "Roundheads" were Parliamentarians as opposed to Cavaliers, and Puritans as opposed to the Established Church of England, although then affiliated with it. In 1641 the Roundheads in England were establishing one of that country's two major political parties, later to be known as Whigs, opposed to Tories; then as Liberals, opposed to Conservatives.

Other early leaders included the following, who became Upper Norfolk representatives in the House of Burgesses in addition to the representatives named above: Daniel Gookin, Jr., formerly of Newport News, and John Carter, 1641/2; John Carter and Randall Crew, both serving second terms, 1642/3; Randall Crew (third term) and Moore Fauntleroy, 1644; Philip Bennett and Moore Fauntleroy (second term), 1644/5; Edward Major and

* See Chapter IX for further land grants.

* Hening, *Statutes at Large*, I, 323.

** Formerly of Newport News and later Commander of Lower Norfolk.

Richard Wells, 1645; Edward Major (second term) and Samuel Stoughton, 1646; and Moore Fauntleroy (third term); and Samuel Stoughton and Richard Wells (both second terms), 1647.

With the settlement of Nansemond County, the prevailing politico-religious warfare spilled over from England into Virginia and consequently into this local area, paralleling on its own level the Indian wars being waged against the marauding tribesmen. In March, 1642/3 an important event oc-



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

NANSEMOND COUNTY—OLD GLEBE CHURCH

curred—the division of the county's single parish into three parishes. The first glebe was established in 1636 and in 1640 Percival Champion gave land to serve as a glebe for Upper Norfolk Parish. Churches were built in each parish in 1643.

Continuously from 1607 until the American Revolution, the Church of England was the Established Church in Virginia. The clergy were inducted into office by the Governors, and the church itself was supported like any other institution of government through tithes paid by the people. The authority to "present" clergymen rested in the vestry of a church, a body of about twelve men elected by the people, generally the men most respected in the community concerned. The authority of the vestry was specifically ecclesiastical, and was conceived of as including the care of the parish poor and the holding of all trust funds for such purposes. The vestry fixed the rate

and received all tithes. The people were identified with the Church and with the State; as some expressed it, they *were* the State, and they *were* the Church. The chosen parson was *theirs*. His duties and his authority were defined. Every male over sixteen years of age was titheable. Records indicate that the tax rate for tithes between 1750 and 1800 varied between 28 and 60 pounds of tobacco per poll. But Nansemond tobacco was priced at around 2 cents or less per pound, and the tithe was most likely not burdensome. Tobacco was in those days the common currency. The minister's salary was 16,000 pounds of tobacco per year. The clerk of the chapel received 1,000 pounds. Once, while the minister's office was vacant for an extended time, the clerk's salary in the Upper Parish went up to 2,000 pounds. Governor Gooch stated the top price of tobacco in Virginia to have been, in 1728, 3d (6 cents) per pound. By 1744 there were 1,139 titheables in this parish.

The three original parishes were called South, East and West (renamed Upper, Lower and Chuckatuck in 1680). As was customary, each parish had several chapels of ease: There were the second Chuckatuck Church of 1700, and in Upper Parish the Middle Chapel (of uncertain date), the Upper (or Somerton) Chapel of 1692, Upper New (or Holy Neck) Chapel of 1748 which replaced the Somerton Chapel, and Cypress Chapel of 1758. The first church in Upper Parish was Old Brick Church (not to be confused with the one of the same name in Isle of Wight County), which after years of use was abandoned as unsafe when a new parish church was built in Suffolk Town in 1753. This parish outgrew the other two at an early period, following population trends. At the outset the lands along the Nansemond River and the Western Branch were the first to be settled. But after 1700 the upper portion of the county received a large influx of settlers. And with the growth of Upper Parish, the other two parishes, Lower and Chuckatuck, were merged in 1725 to form Suffolk Parish, which still was not so populous as Upper Parish until a part of Upper Parish was added to it in 1749. In Suffolk Parish there were two churches—the old Glebe Church or Bennett's Creek Church (the parish church), built in 1738, and the third church at Chuckatuck, now St. John's, erected between 1753 and 1756.

Some of Nansemond County's early religious leaders were outstanding. The Rev. George White, mentioned in Chapter IX, was on the Nansemond River in 1635. Thomas Bennett, of Trinity College, B.A., 1624/5 (Cantab.), was ordained by the Bishop of Peterborough in 1628, and headed an independent congregation in Nansemond until banished by Governor Berkeley in 1648. In 1653 Roger Green, of County Norfolk, England, was in this county. He was one of the few to receive bounty land from the Assembly for settling in the southern part of Virginia (Roanoke Island). William Housden served in West (Chuckatuck) Parish in 1680 and simultaneously in Isle of Wight County. In the same parish William Rudd served in 1703,

Thomas Hassell in 1709 and Samuel Wallis in 1714. In East Parish John Wood (Magdalen College [Oxon.] 1658) was preaching in 1680, and Giles Rainsford in 1714. Leaders in South (Upper) Parish were: John Gregory in 1680, Thomas Hughes from 1716 to 1719, William Balfour in 1744 and 1745, William Webb from 1747 to 1760 (he became master of the Grammar School at the College of William and Mary in 1760 and so served until 1762), and Pate Lunan from 1760 to 1774. In Suffolk Parish, so named in 1725, early leaders were Nicholas Jones, ordained in 1723, served in Lynnhaven Parish from 1726 to 1728, and came to Suffolk in 1731; ——— MacKensie, 1753 and 1754; John Agnew, 1754 to 1775; Henry John Burges, 1778; and Arthur Emmerson, Jr., 1785.

Into the system of the Established Church, Richard Bennett introduced an independent element. As already indicated, in 1641 he sent his brother to New England to bring back Puritan ministers. At that time the Established Church in Nansemond was in the charge of the Rev. Thomas Harrison, formerly chaplain to Governor Berkeley and minister of Elizabeth River Parish, 1640-45 (see Chapter X). The growth of the independents worried the authorities, who adopted suppressive tactics. Independence in religion spelled political disloyalty, and in that period of bitter struggle between Cromwell and the British Crown Virginia was predominantly loyalist. By 1648 strong pressure was brought to bear against the Nansemond County independents and their co-religionists. The Rev. William Durand, another minister of Elizabeth River Parish, Lower Norfolk County, a leader in the movement, was banished only a few months before the execution of Charles I. He retired to Maryland, where he received an 800-acre grant for importing persons into that colony. Harrison and others were expelled. Some who stubbornly held to their views were imprisoned. All were disarmed. The insurgent spirit was temporarily broken. Some went to Maryland at the invitation of Governor Stone, deputy of the Catholic convert, Lord Baltimore.

Throughout this period Protestant Virginia and Catholic Maryland were in conflict. Richard Bennett remained loyal to the Parliamentary movement in England and America and to the dissenters whose conception of life, for him, carried the lifeblood of the future. He was of solid English background. His uncle, Edward Bennett, a London merchant and a planter of Isle of Wight, was an elder in the Puritan or Ancient Church, founded in London in 1592, which removed to Holland in 1597. Richard Bennett himself was a leader in the Puritan Colony which left Isle of Wight, England, before 1635, settling first in Nansemond when he came to this continent and then about 1650 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. In 1652 he was appointed Governor of Virginia and Maryland for the new Cromwell government, and in Virginia he was supported in that year by two Speakers of the House of Burgesses who shared his views—in the early part of 1652 by Edward Major

and later in the same year by Thomas Dew,* known for his liberal ideas. Bennett had gone to England after installation of Cromwell, and he returned in 1652 with his gubernatorial appointment and as one of a group of commissioners sent to America aboard an English fleet to receive Virginia's full submission to the new government in the European homeland.

To carry out his assignment as Governor, Bennett proceeded to Maryland, where he was assisted by Captain William Claiborne as secretary of state. Together they deposed Governor Stone in a proclamation of March 29, 1652, divesting him and Lord Baltimore of all authority in the province. By June the Bennett government was firmly established in Maryland, he himself being back in Virginia. In 1654 Lord Baltimore directed Governor Stone to re-establish the proprietary government, and armed resistance to Bennett followed. Bennett's activity in governmental affairs continued, however, until he retired to private life in 1657. In Maryland he and many of the Virginians who went there to live resided at Providence, which later became Annapolis.

"Independent" thought in the colony was waxing, not waning, and one of those who continuously befriended this manner of thinking was Richard Bennett himself. Often the victories of the Established Church were only nominal ones—on this side of the Atlantic and across the sea. An important evidence of the new trend was the organization in 1648 of the Society of Friends in England by George Fox, whose followers came to be known as Quakers. Some of the new sect arrived in Boston in 1656, but were promptly banned by Massachusetts law and sent back to England in 1657. Virginia likewise tried to keep them out. But into both Massachusetts and Virginia the Quakers came in increasing numbers, despite opposition, establishing for themselves that record of persistence and determination always associated with them.

At that period the Quakers were described as "fanatics courting martyrdom." They readily mocked existing institutions and the rulers of the colony, on occasion interrupted public worship at Established Church services, and when entertaining strong convictions refused obedience to the law. By 1660 there were stringent laws against them. Captains of vessels bringing them in were fined. All who were apprehended were held until they promised to leave. They were punished if they returned after being ordered to leave. If they came a third time they were treated as felons. But if, being convicted, they would give security not to meet in unlawful assemblies, it was provided that "then and from thenceforth such persons shall be discharged from all penalties." It was Virginia policy not to interfere with an individual's religious freedom unless he joined with others against the laws of the land. Even when

* Also spelled "Due."

a member of the House of Burgesses was accused of being a Quaker, he was not expelled until he had refused to take oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

Despite all suppressive measures, the Quakers held public gatherings, founded meeting houses and extended their influence. History has shown why they were able to do so, their strength arising directly out of the purity and depth of their principles. In 1672 Fox himself and his companion, William Edmundson, visited Nansemond County on a preaching tour. As Nansemond had welcomed Puritan ministers in 1636 and thereafter, it was kind to the Quaker leaders, who held meetings "at Nansemond River, where Colonel Dew of the Council and several officers and magistrates attended, and at Somerton, also at Widow Wright's in Nansemond where many magistrates, officers and high people came." An early Quaker leader in Chuckatuck Parish was John Copeland, whose nephew was probably Joseph Copeland, caretaker of the Statehouse at Jamestown, whose name was unearthed at Jamestown on an old pewter spoon fragment marked "Joseph Copeland, Chuckatuck, 1675" (which, incidentally, is the oldest piece of dated and identified pewter in British America).*

The Quaker faith was widespread, and even Bennett, the county's great man, fell under the spell of Fox, whose associate, William Edmundson, wrote of Bennett:

He was a solid, wise man, received the truth and died in the same, leaving two friends his executors. Bennett's will dated in 1674 describing himself of Nansemond River was proved in court April 1675. He gives to the county where he lives and has long lived 300 acres of land, the rents to be received yearly by the churchwardens of the parish and disposed of towards the relief of four aged and impotent persons.

Bennett undoubtedly paid passage to Virginia of many who became leading "dissenters" of religion and politics. In addition to service as a Burgess and as a member of the Governor's Council, he was Governor under the Commonwealth from 1652 to 1655, and after service as agent for Virginia in England in 1656 he became a member of the Governor's Council again in 1658 and so served for the rest of his life. In 1660 he became a major general of militia. His associates in the Virginia government, Edward Major and Thomas Dew, were both sympathetic with him in matters of general principle, and each served as Speaker of the Assembly while he was Governor.

It was not easy to be a man of principle in those days in either politics or religion, and Bennett was exactly that in both. But he was not without company. Two brothers named Jordan worked in both England and America for the "truth" as presented by the Society of Friends. According to Chuckatuck Meeting House records, Thomas Jordan was born in 1634, "received the truth

* Worth Bailey, *Notes on the Use of Pewter in Virginia during the Seventeenth Century*.

in 1660 and abode faithful in it." He "suffered ye spoiling of his goods and ye imprisonment of his Body for ye truth's sake, and continued in ye truth to the End of his dayes."

Then, as now, the Quakers sometimes succeeded where others failed, in matters of practical life in the outer world as well as in those of conscience. Often they were effective in the settlement of land disputes and conflicts over wills. Perhaps their very strictness inclined them toward a more clear-cut sense of justice, although this is difficult to recognize in the instance of a father disowning a son who married outside the Society.

If the Puritan, Quaker and dissenter influence in Virginia was characterized by an iron-like strictness, such was not the rule in Virginia life as a whole, where generous hospitality sometimes made life seem lavish. In 1728, when a Board of Commissioners was named to determine the boundary between North Carolina and Virginia, Colonel William Byrd made an official visit to Colonel Andrew Meade near the headwaters of the Nansemond. He noted that on leaving the county "we passed no less than two Quaker meeting houses. That persuasion prevails much in the lower end of Nansemond County for want of ministers to pilot the people to a decenter way to heaven. The ill reputation of the tobacco in these lower parishes makes the clergy unwilling to accept of them except such whose abilities are as mean as their pay."

So the history of Nansemond County social life is sharply divided between a straightlaced dissenter mode of living and, on the other hand, a warm hospitality such as to dwarf by comparison anything of the sort known in modern times. On visits from house to house the decanter was always open in those prosperous days. Consumption of the favorite beverages of the day was not considered in any way offensive, even by the vestry and the clergy of the Established Church. On occasion a wealthy citizen at his death would bequeath specific sums to close friends for the purpose of furnishing supplies for the customary wake. When two parsons were arraigned in Upper Parish for being too much addicted to drink, it was probably because the low salaries offered had attracted ministers who were not of the best quality and whom the community did not care too much for anyway. In addition to those two, who were so arraigned by the vestry, Parson Agnew gained the community's violent dislike—but for other reasons. More anon about Parson Agnew.

Before passing on to more serious matters, another reference or two may be made to indicate the general attitude toward drink and other matters of social behavior. The justice of the peace was an office of high repute in 1700. In Nansemond, eight justices of the peace were provided. They were "eight of the most able, honest and judicious persons in the county" by definition, and the eldest of them was to serve as sheriff, but to hold the office for only a year. A justice refusing to serve as sheriff was heavily fined. Also, a special

act was voted to provide punishment for any justice "overtaken of drink on court day."

Until 1705 county courts were required to provide at every court house three essential items of punishment—stocks, a pillory and a ducking stool. In the words of one statute, "Whereas oftentimes many brabbling women often slander and scandalize their neighbors, for which their poor husbands are often brought into chargeable and vexatious suites and cast in great damages, Be it enacted that in actions of slander occasioned by the wife as aforesaid, after judgment passed for the damages, the woman shall be punished by ducking."

As indicated above, responsibility for care of the poor rested mainly with the Established Church. The Quakers took care of their own. In 1755 the Assembly passed a measure that every person receiving aid from the parish of the Established Church should wear on the shoulder of his right sleeve, in open and visible manner, a badge bearing the parish name cut in blue, red or green cloth. If any should neglect or refuse to wear this badge, he would suffer withdrawal of his allowance or else be whipped, not to exceed five lashes, for each offense. In most parishes the law was a dead letter, but for some reason it was enforced in Suffolk Parish, at least to the extent of supplying the badges and making the poor wear them if they were to collect their allowances.

Another law in the early days of the colony required that every man "fitting to bear arms" must bring his gun with him to church. The purpose of that law was mainly defense against surprise attacks from the Indians. With the expulsion of the Indians, this law became dead. But in as much as the Nansemond and Nottoway tribes held out to a very late period, so did the custom endure in Nansemond County long after it was abandoned along the seaboard.

The county court was held in Upper Parish before the creation of the Town of Suffolk. It was situated a few miles east of Suffolk. The county clerk was appointed by the Governor in Council. In 1734 the county suffered a misfortune which was destined to be twice repeated thereafter—the destruction by fire of the house of the county clerk, who then was Christopher Jackson. Most of the records were burned. Included in the fire were several properties, and special acts of the Assembly were passed to relieve those whose possessions were lost in that catastrophe. The earliest historical information on the county available from original records inside its borders is that contained in the vestry books of Upper Parish, beginning in 1744, and Suffolk Parish, dating from 1749.

An early educational institution of the county was the Yeates School, established by John Yeates. His will, dated September, 1731, provided maintenance for two schools which he built and payment for their teachers.

He also left provision for a communion service for the church, as well as a pulpit cloth and cushion, a great Bible and some theological works, and to "my friends, the Gentlemen of the Vestry living this side of the river a treat at my house" and to "my worthy friends, the worshipful court of Nansemond, ten shillings to drink for my sake." Yeates' will also mentions Rev. Nicholas Jones, presumably minister of Suffolk Parish, possibly a schoolmate.

Much of the early public life of the county was taken up with efforts for defense. When an act was adopted in 1667 providing for the building of forts in Virginia's different counties, the Nansemond fort commissioners met on October 23 of that year. Each fort had to have a place suitable for storage of a magazine and had to accommodate at least eight great guns. The walls were to be ten feet high and three feet thick on the side facing the river or any shipping. Named to work together toward construction of such a fort were the counties of Nansemond, Isle of Wight, Lower Norfolk, Elizabeth City and Warwick. In 1671 it was decreed that all forts must be repaired with brick unless the repairs were minor, and it is on record that the Nansemond commissioners met on November 6 of that year to look after the repairs.

Acts of 1680, 1691 and 1705 concerned the building of towns. The first of them, that of June, 1680, an "Act for Co-habitation and Encouragement of Trade and Manufacture," is discussed in detail in Chapter XII. In Nansemond County a town was to be established at "Colonel Due's Point, alias Huffles [Hough's] Point" (now Town Point). This act was repealed in 1681. An Act of April, 1691, titled an "Act for Establishing Ports and Markets," resulted in establishment of a port and market "at Huffles Point where formerly by law appointed and accordingly laid out and paid for and built upon pursuant to the said law." This second act was also repealed in 1692/3. In October, 1705, the third town act was passed "for Establishing Ports and Towns (or Burghs)," with the result that a "burgh" or "borough" was set up on the Nansemond River under the name of Nansemond. At this town, Monday and Thursday were to be set aside each week as market days, and after October 15, except for Sundays, there was to be a period of fair days where the planters and the Indians would come to trade. Some of the old fair grounds abound to this day with remnants of the Indians' stone tools, which they used until these were supplanted by guns and steel tools. The Act of 1705 was repealed in 1710. All of the acts under which this type of community growth took place are discussed in detail in Chapter XII.

In 1740 a ferry was established from Nansemond Town to Hampton. The price of a trip was to be 7 shillings 6 pence for a man and his horse. If more than one were traveling, the price decreased to 5 shillings. Villages sprang up at Somerton, which was at first called Summertown, and at Chuckatuck and South Quay. At South Quay was the dock where many travelers took boats to North Carolina. Along the shores of the Nansemond were

farms where foodstuffs were raised for home consumption and sometimes for sale. Tobacco was widely sold. Hunting and fishing were popular then, as they are today, and at an early period one man began making fish-hooks for use in the colony. An act of 1712 provided for the building of a "rolling house" to roll tobacco to the river banks for shipment, and in May, 1720, the act was amended to include storage of grain and salt in the same structure. In time Nansemond became a center for trading of North Carolina tobacco as well as its own with the outside world. Warehouses succeeded the old rolling houses—three of them in Nansemond County. One was at Lawrence's, one at Sleepy Hole Point, and a third at the widow Constance's, site of the present city of Suffolk. The town of Suffolk was established by law in 1742, to be built at Constance's warehouse. Its development is the subject of a separate chapter in this history.* At about the same time the peanut made its debut in the area, probably entering the country aboard slave ships from Africa. Much of the processing phase of the peanut industry is centered in Suffolk.

Although the peanut appeared early, it did not assume important industrial proportions until later. It was rather the Dismal Swamp that furnished Nansemond County's main commercial activity. Perhaps the early interest of George Washington helped to start this trend. In his diary for October, 1763, after he had explored the Dismal Swamp as a prospector or engineer in that same year, he wrote briefly of the experiences he had had there, and was mainly responsible thereafter for the digging of two canals through the Swamp, as a result of which a great deal of lumber trade developed in the county.

Those were expansive days for Nansemond County. But future events were casting before them the shadows of war, which were destined to interfere with the area's steady forward development. The construction of Virginia's fort system has already been mentioned. When the Stamp Act and other offensive laws were being passed by the English Parliament, with resultant rising unrest in Virginia, Nansemond had 644 men in her militia. Merchants from Nansemond and Suffolk attended a meeting in Williamsburg in 1770 to survey the situation of the colony as a whole and to lay plans for meeting the danger.

Things were coming rapidly to a head. And again the Church figured in the developments. Parson John Agnew, mentioned earlier in this chapter, became intensely active in the spring of 1775, visiting his congregation freely and on one particular Sunday urging especially strongly attendance at services at the old Glebe Church. The entire church was filled with women, and 500 men stood outside the building, listening as they leaned at the windows.

* See Chapter XXIII.

The minister was heard to read a prayer for the King, which was followed by no marked disapproval. Then Parson Agnew announced his text: "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's." Developing his theme, he decried the heinous sin of disloyalty to government. The sermon had advanced but a short way when a vestryman and magistrate, William Cowper, left his pew, mounted the steps of the pulpit, and ordered Agnew down. Agnew said, "I am doing my Master's business." A battle of wits followed—one of the opening blasts in the Revolution in Virginia. Cowper's reply was: "Which master? Your Master in heaven or your master over the seas? You must leave this church or I will use force." "I will never be the cause of breeding riot," Agnew said, "in my Master's house." Thereupon the crowd parted to form an aisle through which Agnew walked out. Then they quietly dispersed and went their ways. Agnew never returned to the church.

As the fury of the colonies rose to fever pitch over injustices of English policy, the episode of Parson Agnew caused wide talk throughout Nansemond County. Agnew continued his activity despite warning from the newly formed Nansemond County Committee of Safety, which first met July 11, 1774, and which held a meeting on March 24, 1775, specifically to deal with the case of the Rev. John Agnew, who had continued his activity "against disloyalty" despite repeated warnings. Finally the Committee, which was functioning in conjunction with similar Committees of Safety in other Virginia counties, sent a full report through its secretary, John Gregorie, to the *Virginia Gazette*, which published on April 8, 1775, the "Charges against Parson Agnew." After being sentenced by the Nansemond County Court of Commissioners, Agnew left the county in that year, and became chaplain of the Queen's Rangers, a British troop. He was taken prisoner with his son, Stair Agnew, during the Revolution, and was taken to France.

Subsequent meetings of the Committee of Safety concerned merchants who had shipped goods contrary to defense provisions and a woman who wrote to relatives in Norfolk about troop movements. War heightened the importance of Nansemond County as a whole, and directly affected the lives and destinies of local people. At the burning of Norfolk in 1776, Suffolk received many of the refugees from that stricken city, with the result that the town and county were threatened by lack of food through that difficult period. It remains a tribute to the spirit of Virginia that all, however, were cared and provided for.

When the Chesapeake Bay was blockaded by the English, only Albemarle Sound in North Carolina remained for the passage of foreign trade. At that juncture the tributaries and inlets of the Sound became crucially important waterways, and the depot for this commerce in Nansemond County became the community of South Quay, on Blackwater River in adjoining Southampton County; this river flows into the Chowan River, a tributary of the Sound.

Materials shipped by this route included government supplies, which were carried onward from South Quay by wagon train to Suffolk. The several attempts by the British to capture or destroy these supplies failed, and they were never able to advance as far as Suffolk.

The historic Virginia State Convention of 1776 gave the new State its constitution, which is described as the first written constitution of a free state in history. It embodied George Mason's Bill of Rights. Nansemond County was represented in that convention by Colonel Willis Riddick, commandant of the County Militia, and William Cowper, who was popular for his role in expelling Agnew from Bennett's Creek Church. Colonel Riddick again represented Nansemond in the convention of 1788, twelve years later, which ratified the Constitution of the United States, his associate from the county on that occasion being Solomon Shepherd.

In 1779 Nansemond County suffered its worst at the hands of the English. Sir Henry Clinton had decided to attack Virginia by means of a powerful fleet which anchored at Hampton Roads and landed a force under General Matthews, occupying Portsmouth and committing extensive devastations. The burning of Suffolk on May 13 of that year was an event which more specifically concerned Suffolk than any other part of the county and will therefore be treated in the next chapter, which is given over entirely to Suffolk's development. But from Suffolk, the fire of the attack spread over considerable distances, even crossing the river and sweeping many miles through the marshes. Lord Cornwallis crossed the James River from Williamsburg and marched through this county, going across the Nansemond River at Sleepy Hole Ferry. Also at Suffolk at that troublesome period were Parson Agnew and his son, Stair Agnew, chaplain and a captain respectively in the Queen's Rangers. During that time the County Court moved its sessions to Chuckatuck, coming back to Suffolk only after the conclusion of hostilities.

The Established Church was a notable loser from the Revolution. Some ministers were loyal to the English. Others were forced into secular work in order to survive. Some were in service in the Continental Army. Of an original 90 such ministers, scarcely more than twenty still had parishes at the end of the war. The Church itself shared the hatred that grew for all things English. The vestry became disliked as much as it had once been liked. Many counties discontinued the Established Church entirely. In Nansemond, the parish churches continued at Bennett's Creek, Chuckatuck and Suffolk. Cypress Chapel, established as a chapel of ease for Upper Parish in 1758, became Methodist. The church at Suffolk was badly damaged during the British occupation. An effort to raise funds by subscription for restoring it failed in 1791, and in 1820 the old church was pulled down. The bricks were sold at that time. Bennett's Creek Church was in a completely dilapidated condition by 1812. It was remodeled and repaired in 1854. The chapels in Upper Parish

passed out of the Established Church's hands after the Revolution. These chapels were without ministers to serve them, and the people offered the buildings for use by Methodist preachers who carried on missionary work in them. One noted Methodist preacher, the Rev. James O'Kelly, eloquent and zealous in his activity, resigned from the Methodist organization in 1793 along with several other ministers and established the Republican Methodists. The Cypress Chapel congregation went along with him in the new venture. In 1801 this new organization became the Christian Church.

Holy Neck Chapel, another Upper Parish chapel of ease, established in 1748, underwent a similar history. In 1800 a meeting house was built by popular subscription in Suffolk on the site of the present cemetery. Baptists, Methodists and Episcopalians participated in the effort, and O'Kelly held services there for a time.

Glebe lands were confiscated and sold by legislative act, the proceeds going to the overseers of the poor. The glebe in Upper Parish was a case in point. In Suffolk, however, Parson Jacob Keeling fought the case in court, proved that the land had been a private gift, and won his battle. This valuable glebe farm is still held by the trustees of the Episcopal Church in this parish.

In 1820 an agricultural depression set in, continuing for five years. Population stopped increasing. There was trading in tar, turpentine and slaves. The Dismal Swamp and its juniper forests remained the largest single source of revenue. In 1835 the canals of that no-man's-land bore 3,000,000 shingles to the outside world. Farmers began to use the marl so widely distributed here for the improvement of their acreages. Crops gained in quality. Indian corn became a staple product.

In the War between the States the county furnished its quota of soldiers. The Nansemond County Militia remained well organized in the period that followed. It was composed of the Fifty-ninth Regiment, of which Colonel Hugh H. Kelly was colonel commandant in 1844. Captains of light infantry at that period were Wiley Parker, Jr., R. R. Smith, E. D. B. Howell, Nathaniel E. Pruden, John Oberly and Edmund Riddick. There were also a company of light artillery and one or more companies of cavalry. Some of these same men served in the Mexican War of 1848. The cavalry forces were in command of Captain B. D. Smith in 1849.

In that year Captain Smith petitioned for new arms, and his petition was granted. His company became Company I of the Thirteenth Virginia Cavalry during the War between the States. Its members were noted in that conflict for carrying the old flint and steel pistols provided by act of Legislature in 1849. Muster Day became a big event in Nansemond County. Legends survive, though records are perhaps happily lost, of many a county champion who went down to oblivion on its anniversary each year. Political aspirations, too, are said to have been kindled on this day. Town fights were settled. The muster-

ground at which these events developed and passed was situated three miles southwest of Suffolk.

The years from 1835 to 1860 were mainly uneventful. In 1837 a great fire nearly destroyed Suffolk, and the county buildings, both court house and jail, were obliterated. The clerk's office escaped, however, despite the loss of 130 houses in the community. In 1849 the first newspaper appeared, the *Suffolk Intelligencer*. John R. Kilby, its editor, followed the Whig Party line.

During the War between the States, Confederate troops held Suffolk until the evacuation of Norfolk on May 10, 1862. They then withdrew to the other side of the Blackwater River. It was on May 12, 1862, that Colonel Dodge's New York Cavalry rode into the town and took possession, and other Federal forces supported him in considerable quantities. General Peck took over the command in September, and prepared for battle. There were ten miles of batteries, covered ways and rifle pits, all well protected. Gunboats in the Nansemond River aided the Federal troops. On November 14, 1862, there was a skirmish between 300 Confederate soldiers under General Claiborne and the New York Mounted Rifles, after which all Confederate forces in the area withdrew beyond the Blackwater.

In the spring of 1863 General Longstreet was in command of forces at Petersburg. He crossed the Blackwater to obtain provisions from Nansemond County, Isle of Wight and nearby North Carolina areas. He also took occasion to make a demonstration against Suffolk, preventing the forces there from joining General Hooker's army, which General Robert E. Lee was then attempting to draw into battle. On April 11, 1863, with Longstreet's advance, came a skirmish on South Quay Road, but the Federal pickets were driven back. On the following day there were skirmishes on the Edenton, Providence Church and Somerton roads. The Confederates at that juncture pushed on to the north bank of the Nansemond, planted a battery near Norfleet House, a few miles below Suffolk, and opened fire on the gunboats in the river, disabling the *Monmouth*, the *Washington* and the *West-End*. These boats drifted on the flats for a time, but were towed off by the *Stepping Stones* and made their way, crippled, down the river.

Another Confederate battery stood at the mouth of the Western Branch. On April 19, 1863, Lieutenant Lamson, of the Federal forces, took Huger's Battery by surprise, and a storming party of 500 attacked the fort from the rear. The Confederates in that vicinity were commanded by General French. They had failed to establish a proper picket line, and consequently Captain Stribling, in command of Huger's Battery, was unaware of the Federal troops' presence until they were too close to permit of resistance. Moreover, the Confederate guns were facing the river and could not be quickly turned inland. The battery was captured and 125 Confederate soldiers were taken prisoner.

On April 23 there was a further skirmish at Chuckatuck. On April 24 the Federal forces made two attacks on the Confederate picket lines south of Suffolk, where there was brisk fighting for a time, but with few casualties. On May 3 Longstreet began to withdraw beyond the Blackwater to his former lines, and the siege of Suffolk was ended. Skirmishing on that day near Hill's Point, Reid's Ferry and Chuckatuck was of a limited nature. Longstreet tried to get the Confederates to send the gunboat *Richmond* down the James River to the Nansemond, but obstructions in the river prevented. He wrote to Lee that he could take the works at Suffolk by assault, but that it would cost 3,000 men to accomplish that purpose and the results would not justify the sacrifice. Lee wrote in reply: "If you were to capture Suffolk, I could not spare men to garrison it."

During the nearly three years of Federal occupation, the county government was suspended at Suffolk, court sessions being held at the South Quay Church. In August, 1865, sessions were resumed in Suffolk. Peter Prentis, county clerk, had been arrested by the Federal forces and imprisoned at Point Lookout. The county records were taken to Norfolk for the duration of the conflict and kept in the Customs House there. They were returned to Suffolk at the close of the war.

On the night of February 7, 1866, after the war was over and such an event seemed unlikely, the clerk's office caught fire and was destroyed. Official records carefully preserved through war and devastation were thus lost for the third time in the county's history, but in a peacetime disaster. It is traditional that this disaster was of incendiary origin, instigated by a desire to destroy the recorded division of an important estate.

The county's resources were exhausted from long-continuing support of large bodies of occupying armies. From this period Nansemond had to fight its way back to a new spirit and to new productivity. So, on the ashes of a troublous past, modern agriculture and industry have arisen.

Like other counties in the area, Nansemond did its share to win two world wars, not only by supplying fighting men for the armed forces, but by stepping up production of farm products, foods and the necessities of life to take care of the vastly increased population in the Port of Embarkation area. Those Nansemond County sons who gave their lives in the course of duty in World War II were as follows:

ARTIS, LOUIS M., Pvt., A.

BAKER, SPENCER, Pvt., A.

BEMBERRY, ARTHUR M., T/Sgt., A.

BOONE, JESSIE QUINTON, St1c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. John W. Boone,
Holland

BOYCE, EMMETT L. (*See Suffolk City*)

BRADSHAW, GEORGE R., 2nd Lt., A.
BRIDGER, WALTER D., Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Willie B. Bridger, Cypress
Chapel
BRYANT, JUNIUS MANSFIELD. (*See* Suffolk City)
COSCIA, MARIO S., Pfc., A.
GATLING, LEE E., Pvt., A.
HENDRIX, EDWARD A., Pvt., A.
JOHNSON, OCIE POWELL. (*See* Suffolk City)
JOHNSON, ROBERT YATES. (*See* Suffolk City)
KELLEHER, HAROLD J. (*See* Suffolk City)
LANGSTON, HENRY GARETT, Officer's Steward 3c, N. Mother, Mrs. Blanche
Moore Langston, Holland
LEWIS, WARDELL. (*See* Suffolk City)
MAYO, ARTHUR S., 2nd Lt., A.
MUSSELWHITE, ELWOOD F. (*See* Suffolk City)
PATTERSON, THOMAS, Pfc., A.
PERSON, WALTER G., S/Sgt., A.
PICKETT, WILLIAM, T/4, A.
POWELL, OTIS GORDON. (*See* Suffolk City)
PRIVOTT, GEORGE WILLIAM. (*See* Suffolk City)
RAIFORD, ERNEST JACKSON, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Edward F. Raiford,
Holland
TADLOCK, WILLIAM THOMAS. (*See* Suffolk City)
TAYLOR, JAMES UNDERHILL. (*See* Norfolk City)
TAYLOR, JOSEPH EDGAR, JR. (*See* Suffolk City)
UMPHLETT, WILLIE TRUITT, Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Ann T. Parker Umphlett,
Holland
WALKER, HENRY. (*See* Suffolk City)
WALKER, WILLIAM H., 2nd Lt., A.
WARD, WILBUR R., Pfc., A.
WINBOURNE, RAYMOND W., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Lilla Winbourne, Buck-
horn

With Suffolk as an independent city of more than 12,000 population, Nansemond County itself raises peanuts in abundance, while Suffolk processes them and ships them to the outside world. The area is the world's first in quality and quantity of peanut production. A vast market for the nut exists in nearby Isle of Wight County and the entire surrounding district, where peanut-fed hogs are regarded as the best for production of Smithfield hams, another important industry of the district.* The rambling peanut vines also

* See Chapters XXVII and XXVIII.

furnish forage for the cattle on farms in the upper portion of Nansemond County itself.

With the commercializing of the peanut, which also found a vast market for human consumption after the War between the States, renewal has come out of desolation and despair. The county is today prosperous and productive, particularly of a wide range of farm products. Farm lands have greatly increased in value. Stock has improved. Corn and cotton are leading farm items, and in the lower part of Nansemond County a tremendous truck farming business is carried on. Potatoes, beets, cabbage, kale, peas, beans, squash, cucumbers, spinach, melons and berries are among the farm products raised. Ships drawing 14 feet of water can now enter the Nansemond River, and Suffolk itself is an important railway center, being served by the Norfolk and Western, Virginian, Seaboard Air Line, Norfolk and Southern, Atlantic Coast Line and Atlantic and Danville roads. The Atlantic and Danville was under lease to the Southern Railway System from 1899 to 1949, when it once more became independent. Agriculture and peanut production have given rise to industries such as farm implement manufacturing, agricultural machinery, paper box production, fertilizer, lumber and building materials. And Nansemond fish and oysters compare favorably with those of the Chesapeake.

Important highway routes connect the county's communities, with Suffolk as a hub of this highway network. United States Route 58 leads from Suffolk to Holland, twelve miles to the west-southwest, noted for its peanut and lumber production, and to Franklin, in Southampton County. Passing through Nansemond County also are Virginia Routes 10 and 32 from Smithfield, United States 460 from Petersburg to Suffolk and Norfolk, and United States Route 13 southward into North Carolina. Other communities are Somerton, near the southern border of the county, and Whaleyville, Cypress Chapel, Nurneysville, Magnolia, Driver and Crittenden. Chuckatuck has been frequently mentioned for its role in the county's history.

Nansemond County today is a busy center of Virginia's agricultural, industrial and professional life. Banking, law and the other established professions find their place in the county's life, and with its sister counties of Isle of Wight and Southampton, all of them on the southern banks of the James, it forms an important and productive area of Tidewater Virginia.

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Chapter XXIII

The Town and City of Suffolk

1742-1957

By *Floyd McKnight*

IN 1742, BY AN ACT of the Virginia Assembly, a town was established at Constance's Warehouse, in Nansemond County. Its main substance was fifty acres of land belonging to Jethro Sumner, a part of the estate of the late Daniel Sullivan, clerk of the county, which had come to Sumner through his wife, née Margaret Sullivan. The county surveyor, Thomas Milner, after whom Milner Street was named, officially laid out the property as a town. The purchase price was £3 per acre. Trustees of the new town were then named: Lemuel Riddick, William Baker, William Wright, Edward Wright, Mills Riddick, John Gregory and Edward Norfleet.

The name given to this town was Suffolk, in honor of the county of the same name on the east coast of England. The English county of Suffolk is bounded on the north by Norfolk and on the south by Essex.

It is probable that in the early days of colonization people from Suffolk County, England, came to Virginia. When the east and west parishes of Nansemond County* were merged in the early eighteenth century, the name of Suffolk first came into use when applied to the new consolidated parish thus formed, which was called Suffolk Parish. The similarities between the English and the Virginia Suffolks are more than casual. The English county is noted for its fine breed of hogs and profitable trading in them, and the new Virginia town of the name likewise became famous for its hams and bacon. Sir William Gooch, who was Governor of Virginia when Suffolk Town was created in 1742, was from Suffolk County, England. The Hon. Lemuel Riddick, then representing the local district in the House of Burgesses, no doubt thought it would be a wise policy to name the new town after the Governor's native county in England. The bill was passed in June, 1742, and the last act of the House of Burgesses was to give it to Mr. Riddick to take to the Governor for his signature.

Suffolk was destined to figure prominently in Virginia life in both war and peace. It is today the only city lying within the boundaries of Nansemond County, although it is fully independent politically from the parent county,

* See Chapter XXII.

from which it was split off as a city in its own right in 1910. Until that time it continued as a town.

The trustees named in 1742 were to provide, on the fifty-acre plot on which the present city had its beginnings, a place for a market, along with a quay and wharves and cranes. Each prospective home builder was required to erect within two years on his lot after he purchased it a house no less than 16 by 24 feet and 8 feet in pitch, or the property reverted to the trustees.

The town was laid out on the neck of land between the two creeks. An early resident was Jethro Sumner, already referred to as the original owner of the land. Nearby to the east, on Cedar Hill, was the home of the Constance family, after whom Constance's Warehouse was named. In fact, the warehouse had doubtless begun its history about 1712 as a "rolling house" for tobacco, and in 1730 became a full-fledged tobacco warehouse, which was also used to store grain and salt. The considerable business drawn to the site by the presence of the warehouse was mainly responsible, in actuality, for the decision to establish the town of Suffolk at this point. To the east of the Constance place was the home of the Allens, north of which was the Bernard home. A family named Pugh lived at Jericho Run. To the southeast lived the Riddicks. To the south was Culloden's farm. Westward lived the Meads, and nearby the Marches and the Jordans.

The first houses here were of modest proportions. Many of them were built of rough stone rather than bricks, which were scarce. The ancient stone underpinnings of some of these houses are still to be seen in the older part of the town, though they are gradually vanishing. The Constance cellar, for instance, was of stone. Some of the rude chimneys were even made of wood, but the building of this type of chimney was forbidden by law in 1745 after several dangerous fires, and five years later even the old ones were torn down by the owner or the sheriff.

To accommodate business in the area, a ferry was established over the Nansemond River in 1744. It ran from the foot of what is now Main Street to Jordan's Point. The Parish Church was built in 1753 at a cost of £595. Two years later, in 1755, the Court House and County Clerk's Office were built.

The trade that soon centered in Suffolk was sizeable. Tobacco from southern Nansemond County and products from as far south as eastern North Carolina were brought up to Suffolk for entry into world commerce. Ships were then being built which were large enough to take on 300 hogsheads of tobacco. Every product that sought a market anywhere but locally had to pass through Suffolk for shipment. It was Nansemond's port. A considerable portion of this commerce was supplied from the Dismal Swamp, which economically could be said to have flourished at that time more than

any period before or since, largely as a result of George Washington's continuing interest in its possibilities.* Washington himself visited the new town of Suffolk many times when it was new, planning from here the attacks which he was about to make upon the Great Dismal.

The peanut was then a table luxury for local consumption, prized by Nansemond farmers for the Christmas season. For the most part the nut was planted on a small scale, usually in the gardens around the houses. For a particular social occasion the hostess could replace the nuts that were at one time expensive imports with those which she could pick in her own garden or yard. The advent of the peanut to Virginia seems shrouded in mystery, but the general conclusion is that it was brought to America from Africa. One authority has claimed that it was of Egyptian origin, and that both the peanut and the potato were cultivated in ancient Egypt from the period of the building of the Pyramids. The probability seems to be that slaves and slave traders brought the nut to America, the traders using it to feed the slaves on the long crossings aboard ship. The American soil and climate proved suitable for the new nut's cultivation, and by the later eighteenth century peanuts were widely raised for home consumption, though they did not become an important item of commerce until after 1860.

Meanwhile, as peanuts and produce were becoming ever more important to Suffolk's economy, the new town was heading for a major setback with the oncoming of the American Revolution. The English Parliament was growing more and more antagonistic to the colonies, of which Virginia was the most representative and therefore most symbolic. Laws passed included the notorious Stamp Act, which gave rise to great unrest in this Colony. In 1770 the merchants of Nansemond and Suffolk attended a meeting of businessmen of the colony in Williamsburg, where those present surveyed the situation confronting the country and did their best to lay plans for the future.

The clear view which this and subsequent meetings achieved did not, however, seem to alter the course of impending events. Antagonism led to greater antagonism and eventually to war. It was but a few short years until the colonies were united in a war to the finish against the Mother Country. Nansemond County duly appointed a Committee of Safety, which held its first meeting on July 11, 1774. Passing a long list of resolutions, the committee held its next meeting on March 24, 1775, when the major items of business were the case of the Rev. John Agnew, whose preaching had caused offense at the Glebe Church, and that of John Thompson, North Carolina merchant. The third meeting of the Committee of Safety was held August 18, 1775, when the cases of two Suffolk merchants, Messrs. Donaldson and Hamilton, were discussed. These two merchants had shipped goods which

* See Chapter XXIV.

had been captured and taken to Boston, and the committee's decision exonerated them. Still another meeting of the Nansemond County Committee of Safety is on record—that which took place at the house of John Aspray in Suffolk on November 22, 1775, with Willis Riddick as chairman and eleven members participating. Lemuel Godwin was clerk of the meeting. The case of Betsy Hunter, brought up at that meeting of the Committee, concerned her writing letters to her mother and brother in Norfolk, in which she told of troop movements in the county. The Committee of Safety determined that the case should be at once advertised in the public prints, with the recommendation that she, as well as Mary and Martha Wilkinson, who knew about the letters, be looked upon as enemies of America.

Militia from this area was represented at the battle of Great Bridge, and when Norfolk was burned by the English, the people of Nansemond and Suffolk opened their doors to shelter and feed the destitute refugees. In the course of the Revolution, Suffolk became an army depot. Large quantities of provisions were stored here, and a detachment of American troops were stationed in the town to guard the stores. Shipyards began to construct vessels in the Suffolk area, and the Cowpers built two ships, the *Dolphin* and the *Marquis Lafayette*, both of which did valiant service for the state. Milner's was also a depot and a trade center, while South Quay became a port of entry and a receiving point for goods from foreign ports. In fact, the fitting out of privateer vessels and the arming of them for their voyages against the English became a source of great dissatisfaction to the mother country, which determined to get rid of them.

Suffolk's position during the War of the Revolution was a truly remarkable one in view of the tremendous stores of materials which were kept here for the Army and Navy of this region. In May, 1779, as much as 8,000 barrels of tar, pitch and turpentine and great quantities of rum and brandy were on hand here, and there were also in storage at Suffolk 9,000 barrels of salt pork and extensive food and military supplies. The Act of 1779 provided a road between the wharves of Suffolk and Milner's, in Nansemond, to Hicksford (now Emporia), so that the provisions might be brought there. Also, the old South Quay Road to Suffolk had been straightened and improved.

Suffolk remained a colonial stronghold of commerce until late in the war. The English seemed unable to advance upon it, and after they successfully blockaded the Chesapeake Bay the only direct foreign trade from Virginia to the outside world had to pass through Albemarle Sound and its tributaries. The products which went by this route, whether they were peace-time materials or articles of war, came up the Nansemond River to South Quay, which served as a center for this war-time trade. From this center the supplies were brought by wagon train to Suffolk.

After trying many other experiments of war, Sir Henry Clinton decided in 1779 to attack Virginia directly. His powerful English fleet dropped anchor at Hampton Roads, where a force landed under General Matthews. Portsmouth was occupied at that time by the enemy, who were enraged and committed extensive devastations. Suffolk was obviously in extreme danger. A call to arms was sent out, in response to which 200 men came to the defense, all poorly armed. Few had muskets; fewer still, ammunition. What they had, they obtained from Captain Bright, who commanded the letter-of-marque brig *Mars*, lying in the river. He supplied also two cannon, which were mounted on cartwheels.

This company, under Captain Willis Riddick,* marched eighteen miles and camped on May 11 in the field in front of Captain James Murdagh's house. Three men were sent ahead—Josiah Riddick, Thomas Granbury, and Thomas Brittle—to get information on the British advance. Running afoul of the enemy, they were captured below Hall's Mill, in Norfolk County, and were carried off to New York and kept as prisoners for one and one-half years. Two officers, Captains King and Davis, went for the night to a tavern about a mile from camp at about the time when this capture of the three Virginians was taking place, whereupon further misfortune followed their venture. Davis was killed, and King narrowly escaped to come back to inform his comrades of what had happened. Colonel Willis Riddick had retired to his own house, with the result that Colonel Edward Riddick took charge and ordered a retreat to Suffolk.

Four miles below this town, two men sent out to obtain information were able to locate the English, whom they reported to be 600 strong. Next morning only 100 local men answered the call to arms, with the result that thenceforth it was a question of every man for himself. Resistance seemed useless. Some of those who tried to put up some faint opposition made the mistake of delaying action in order to retrieve property which they considered valuable, with the disastrous result that they also were captured.

Most of the 100 men escaped, but nothing seemed able to prevent the coming of the royal troops to set fire to Suffolk's buildings on May 13, 1779. The conflagration spread, sweeping over the Court House, the Clerk's Office and street after street of houses and buildings, only the colonial church being spared. All county records went up in smoke—a cause of great difficulty to this day in putting together a completely satisfactory early history of the Nansemond area.

Houses destroyed included that of Colonel Wilson Riddick, who had been packing pork for the Army. Government stores were captured, and on the wharves the heads of barrels were knocked in and their contents of tar,

* In 1783, became an original (charter) member of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, as Captain of Infantry, 4th Virginia Regiment, Continental Line.

pitch, turpentine and rum were dumped into the Nansemond River and set afire. The winds even blew this fire across the river, where it ignited dry twigs and bushes in the marsh area and spread many miles through the swampland. General Tarleton returned during that difficult period from an effort to capture the Legislature, and he also joined the English troops at Suffolk.

Before the close of the war, English soldiers had been sent to burn Milner's Town and South Quay. One consignment of Swedish cannon brought from France was unloaded by Captain Boritz, of the brig *Sacred Heart of Jesus*, at South Quay and carried overland and used by the American Army. To the north of Scott's old field near Lake Prince, however, a battle between the Virginia militia and the English resulted in the retirement of the English over the creek at Milner's Town. From 1780 onward, until the end of hostilities, English troops occupied Suffolk to all practical purposes and the community continued to be visited by the English military forces until the surrender at Yorktown.

In 1781 Benedict Arnold crossed the county on his way to Richmond and Portsmouth. Later, Lord Cornwallis, with his army, also passed through the region on his way to Portsmouth. Both men crossed the river at Sleepy Hole Ferry in 1781. This river and its tributaries were used to hide the Virginia naval vessels, which were sunk whenever they appeared to be in danger of capture or attack by the enemy. In 1781 General Saunders brought more reinforcements from Portsmouth. He crossed the river at Sleepy Hole, carrying off horses and property, and returned by way of Suffolk. Lord Cornwallis, crossing the James River from Williamsburg, then marched through Nansemond County, crossing the river at Sleepy Hole Ferry. An ironic element in the presence of the Queen's Rangers at Suffolk was the fact that Parson Agnew,* of inglorious fame, was present as chaplain of this group, of which his own son, Stair Agnew, was captain. With these numerous developments—dismal from the point of view of the defenders of Virginia—the court had to be moved away from Suffolk for the duration of the war, and indications are that sessions were held during that time at Chuckatuck.

When the siege of Yorktown started, several of these vessels were brought up from beneath the surface and recalled to service, being used to supply the American troops with provisions. Colonel Josiah Parker, of Smithfield, was in command of the militia in the lower counties during the last period of the war. When the entrapment of the British occurred at Yorktown, the militia of this section was called into service; and when that campaign had ended, they were so confident that victory had been won that they cheerfully returned to peacetime activities.

After the war, it took several years to rebuild Suffolk. Relatively speak-

* See Chapter XXII.

ing, recovery was rapid. In 1784 new town trustees were named, and Suffolk became at that time a port of entry for American-built vessels, with a surveyor in charge.

About 1794 the building of the Jericho Canal opened the way to further trade and development, and the commerce passing through this canal* remained for more than a generation one of the leading sources of revenue for Suffolk and Nansemond County citizens.

In the old days, unhappily now almost beyond memory, one of the leading industries was the production of ice. In 1800 an ice company was started in Suffolk, which put up ice in winter, storing it for summer use. As an indication of the extent of the effort, this company actually tried to introduce ice into the West Indies, arranging for long shipments to the distant islands.

In 1808 the town of Suffolk was newly incorporated and a new board of trustees was appointed.

Further hardships of war came when, in 1812, it was feared that the English again would attack the area. This time Suffolk was more fortunate, however, receiving only one considerable scare when a large fleet of oyster boats sailed up the river and was mistaken for an enemy fleet. Around that time the militia was stationed at Craney Island.

With two wars against the English in the background, further progressive development took place in Suffolk with the erection in 1815 of a new Clerk's Office. By 1820 Suffolk's population rose to about 1,000, most of the business being carried on at that period in that part of the town nearest the wharves. Most commerce was in tar, staves, shingles, pork, beef, black-eyed peas, with some flour and tobacco, for which products the local people purchased sugar, coffee, molasses, gunpowder, flints, hoes, axes, jugs, iron pots, grindstones and rum.

On February 26, 1825, General Lafayette visited the town and was officially received with considerable ceremony, although he only spent the night.

In the Southampton insurrection of 1831, the Town of Suffolk experienced considerable disturbance. By 1833 Suffolk had 300 houses, twenty general stores, four churches, five grammar schools, two lawyers and two doctors.

All was not destined to proceed peacefully and well, however, for in 1837 Suffolk was visited by another destructive fire. The entire town was practically wiped out on that occasion, and afterward its main center of activity was established nearer to its present central area, while the older portion became largely residential. In 1835 Suffolk had a population of approximately 1,200 people. In 1849 the town's first newspaper was started. This paper was the *Suffolk Intelligencer*. Its founder was John R. Kilby. A

* See Chapter XXIV.

year later another newspaper, the *Southron*, was established by D. J. Goodwin. In 1852 two other papers came into existence—the *Nansemond Inquirer* and the *District Republican*. The Rev. W. B. Wellons bought the *Christian Sun* in 1855 and moved it to Suffolk.

In those days the appearance of things was naturally vastly different from that of the present day. No one now alive remembers the old slave market, which stood in 1858 where the store of R. W. Baker & Co. was later established. That was the year in which a mayor and a Council were elected and the Suffolk Savings Bank was established. In 1859 the first bank building in the town was constructed on Main Street at the head of Bank Street, and in that year the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad was also completed.

From the earliest days of Suffolk, as in the other parts of Nansemond County and the Colony, the Church of England was the Established Church prior to the War of the American Revolution. The religious life was centered around the church in a way which it is probably hard for modern citizens of Virginia, even ardent churchgoers, to appreciate. The clergy occupied a position of great importance, and the church ruled over spiritual affairs to as great a degree as the state ruled over peoples' public and political lives.

Church life also underwent important changes. The church actually governed people's lives in that whole area in which it was conceived of as having authority. In fact, it was financially supported in a way similar to any institution of government, namely, by taxes or tithes paid by the people. Every citizen was a member of the Church body, just as he was a member of the State. The clergy were inducted into office by the Governors, and the authority to present a clergyman was vested in a vestry of twelve men elected by the people. The vestrymen were generally the most respected members of the community, and their duties were ecclesiastical, including the care of the poor of their parishes and the holding of all trust funds for such purposes. There was a fixed rate of taxation called a tithe, and the vestry were responsible for receiving all tithes. The people of Virginia, like those of England, from which they came, were identified with the Church as with the State. They *were*, in *fact* the Church; and they *were* the State. The parson was also conceived of as being *theirs*, and his duties were thoroughly defined, as was his authority. Every male over the age of 16 years was tithable. The taxation rate for tithes in the period between 1750 and 1785 varied between 28 and 60 pounds of tobacco per poll, a sum which in Nansemond County was not too great, because Nansemond tobacco brought only 1½ to 2¢ per pound. It is therefore unlikely that the tithe could ever have been very onerous to the people of Suffolk or Nansemond County. The fact that the tithe was stated officially in terms of pounds of tobacco is interesting, because tobacco was the common currency in those days. The minister's salary was

16,000 pounds of tobacco a year, and the clerk of the Chapel received 1,000 pounds. At one period, during a long vacancy in the ministry, the salary of the clerk was raised from 1,000 to 2,000 pounds of tobacco.

In 1744 there were 1,139 tithables in Upper Parish, as explained in Chapter XXII on Nansemond County. The county was divided into two parishes, the Upper and the Lower, each of which represented a geographical portion. The first church in Upper Parish was Old Brick Church, which was later abandoned as unsafe. The actual site of that early church is still not clear. But after the founding of Suffolk Town in 1742, the Town Church (built in 1753) became the Parish Church. There were also several chapels with organized congregations, which were served by the same minister. These chapels were situated at Somerton, Cypress, Holy Neck and Nottoway. When the boundary-line between Nansemond and Southampton counties was changed in 1785, Nottoway was made a part of Southampton.

The manner of caring for the poor under the auspices of the Church was also of a very special character. In 1755 the Virginia Assembly passed a law that every person receiving aid from the Parish should wear on the shoulder of his right sleeve, in open and visible manner, a badge with the name of his parish cut into the cloth either in blue, red or green. Any one neglecting to wear this badge of poverty, or refusing to do so, would have his allowance withdrawn or, according to the law, be whipped, not to exceed five lashes for each offense. In most parishes the law became very quickly a dead letter, but for some reason it was enforced in Suffolk Parish, at least to the extent that the appropriate badges were provided and people were made to wear these badges if they were to collect the amounts provided for them as needy members of the community. Although 16,000 pounds of tobacco per year may sound like a great quantity of that well-known weed, the salaries of the clergy were actually very low, with the result that frequently the talent attracted into the church was by no means of the best.

One incident of politico-religious history stands out in the entire Tidewater area. This is the story of Parson John Agnew, a notable supporter of the English cause, although for a long period he did not dare come out openly and declare himself as such to his parishioners or to the public. But as the Revolutionary War was fast approaching, his tactics became ever bolder and more pronounced. In the spring of 1775 Parson Agnew was suddenly observed to be much more busily engaged in the interests of his parishioners than had usually been the case, and before one particular Sunday service he visited unusually large numbers of members of the congregation freely, urging their attendance at church on the following Sunday.

When that Sunday came, every seat in the church was filled with women, and 500 men stood outside the church, leaning at the windows and listening, unable to gain admittance to the crowded church. The services began with

the reading by Parson Agnew of a special prayer for the English King. Virginians were not fanatics, and there was no immediate disapproval or opposition. Then came the announcement of the text for his sermon: "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's."

In the sermon which followed, Parson Agnew decried and derided the heinous sin of disloyalty to government. One of the vestrymen, who was also a magistrate, William Cowper by name, at length left his pew, mounted the steps of the pulpit, and ordered Parson Agnew to come down. The parson replied, "I am doing my Master's business." Cowper retorted, "Which Master? Your Master in Heaven or your master over the seas?! You must leave this church or I will use force."

At this juncture Parson Agnew retired as gracefully as possible.

"I will never be the cause of breeding riot in my Master's House," he said.

The crowd in the church thereupon formed an aisle to permit the parson to make his exit, after which those hundreds of Suffolk people quietly dispersed and went to their homes. Agnew never returned to the church.

This episode caused wide consternation and talk throughout Nansemond County, as well as in Suffolk, and wherever Parson Agnew appeared thereafter he continued his activity against disloyalty though he was repeatedly warned by the Committee of Safety of Nansemond County, (such a committee was formed here as in other Virginia counties) to desist from his attitude in favor of the English. At length the Committee sent to the *Virginia Gazette* a report of its point of view, relaying its judgments through its secretary, John Gregorie. In its issue of April 8, 1775, the *Virginia Gazette* published what it titled "Charges against Parson Agnew." Agnew left the county in that year, after being sentenced by the Court of Commissioners, whereupon he became the chaplain of the Queen's Rangers, a British Troop. During the time when Suffolk was to all intents and purposes occupied by the English, Parson Agnew was present as chaplain of the Queen's Rangers with his son, Stair Agnew, who was captain of the troop. They continued their activities throughout the Revolution, until finally both were taken prisoners and carried off to France.

Through that whole period another phase of Suffolk's church life was taking a definite form. Between 1770 and 1785 a religious revolution was closely paralleling the political one. At that time distinctly new religious influences were affecting Suffolk and the surrounding region, with far-reaching results. The Methodist itinerant preachers, known as circuit riders, who had begun visiting the county at an early period, were holding services in the abandoned colonial churches, as well as in the private homes wherever opportunity offered. At about this same period the Baptist preachers, under the leadership of Rev. Edward Mintz, began to visit the upper part of

Nansemond County and to hold meetings also in private homes and even open-air groves. The Western Branch Baptist Church had come into being as early as 1779. The Baptists aroused great opposition in some circles, and an enthusiastic response in others. On one occasion some of the ministers and missionaries of this sect were ducked in the river until they were almost drowned. Their ardor was in no way restrained by such opposition, but rather seemed to be the more greatly stimulated.

Men like Thomas Jefferson looked with at least an open mind upon the new movements that were taking shape, and Jefferson himself found many friends in this area for the Bill of Religious Freedom which he introduced in the Assembly. In addition, many petitions supported the new movements, which brought to Suffolk and Nansemond County such noted pioneers as the Rev. Francis Asbury, who afterward became a Methodist Bishop. Another religious leader of the period was the Rev. James O'Kelly, organizer of the Christian Church, who came here soon after the Methodists and Baptists.

The Quakers were also widely influential in this entire region from a very early stage. The Society of Friends, as they were formally named, had been founded in 1648 by George Fox. As early as 1656 members of the group had arrived in Boston, from which they had been sent almost immediately back to England as a result of stringent laws passed in Massachusetts to ban them. Despite accumulating enmity, they kept coming anew and in ever greater numbers. Virginia also tried to keep them out, but the Quakers seemed only to thrive on fanaticism and martyrdom. When they felt so inspired, they readily mocked existing institutions and colonial rulers and on occasion interrupted public worship and refused to obey the law. By 1660 Virginia had very stringent laws against the Quakers, including fines for the captains of vessels taking the responsibility of bringing them into the colony. All Quakers who were apprehended were held until they promised to leave America, and they were punished if they dared to return. If they came a third time, they were treated as felons. Even if they were convicted, however, provision existed that, once they gave assurance they would not meet in unlawful assemblies, "then and from thenceforth such persons shall be discharged from all penalties."

Virginia made a point of not interfering with individual religious freedom unless an individual concerned had gone to the length of joining with others to oppose the established laws. Even when a member of the House of Burgesses was accused of being a Quaker, he was not expelled until he had actually refused to take oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

As the number of Quakers in Virginia steadily grew, George Fox himself came to this region for a visit in 1672. From 1636 onward this portion of Tidewater Virginia had welcomed the Puritan preachers from the North, and Fox found a similar welcome when he came to this area. He held several

meetings, which sometimes attracted the attendance of officers, magistrates and leading citizens. Some of Nansemond's outstanding residents today are descendants of these early converts to the Society of Friends. Even Richard Bennett fell under the spell of Fox, whose travelling companion, George Edmondson, wrote of Bennett's interest in the new sect.

With all these "dissenting" religions coming into a position in which they vied openly with the established Church of England, the free-thinking tendencies of the citizenry of Suffolk were early developed and in some cases far advanced. The linkage between the religious revolution and the political-economic revolution was clear. The end of the Revolutionary War brought the decline of the Established Church. Some of its ministers were loyal to the British throughout the war—which did not place them in a favorable position to resume their employment. Others of them were forced into secular work to survive at all through the difficult period of war. Still others left the church to enter the Colonial Army and carry forward a battle in which they very ardently believed. Of ninety ministers of the Established Church, only a few more than twenty still had parishes when the Revolution was ended. The church suffered from the common hatred of England and all things English, and the vestries of the parishes, once loved and respected in their communities, became as disliked as they had formerly been liked.

Many counties entirely dropped the Established Church, although in Suffolk it was continued. The Suffolk Church building had been damaged during the British occupation and the effort to raise funds by subscription to rebuild it failed in 1791. Some years later, after the second war against the English, the old church was razed to the ground in 1820 and even the bricks were sold. The old Bennett's Creek Church, which was in a dilapidated condition in 1812, was later remodelled and repaired, so that it was back in functioning condition by 1854. The chapels in the Upper Parish passed entirely out of the Church's hands after the Revolution, and without a minister to look after the needs of these churches the people offered the church buildings to the visiting Methodist preachers and other missionaries of more revolutionary schools of religious thought.

Cypress Chapel became Methodist. Sometimes revolution followed revolution in religious thinking and adjustments, as was the case with the withdrawal of a group of ministers from the Methodist Church to organize what they called the Republican Methodists, who became the foundation of the Christian Church in 1801. A similar development took place at Holy Neck Chapel. In 1800 a meeting-house was built by popular subscription in Suffolk, which was free to those of all the varying religious persuasions—Baptists, Methodist, Episcopalians and others.

The glebe lands were sold by legislative act and the proceeds were turned over to the Overseers of the Poor. The glebe in Upper Parish was

disposed of as the act required. In Suffolk, however, this act freeing the glebe lands from church control ran into considerable opposition. Parson Jacob Keeling fought the case of Suffolk Parish in court, proving that his parish's glebe lands had been a private gift, and by so contending he won his fight. As a result the valuable Glebe Farm of Suffolk Parish Church is still held by the trustees of the Episcopal Church in this region.

From the earliest time, education was carried out mainly as a personal responsibility of the families of Suffolk and this region of Virginia—and not always with the best results. Books were naturally scarce and hard to obtain, and if obtained were high-priced. Great quantities of work had to be done to achieve the building of the community. And there were times when communications with the outside world were particularly poor, notably when roads were impassable as a result of mud and bad weather. Mail facilities were also bad, and travel was restricted. Accordingly, education received slight attention. It was therefore a great boon to the region when John Yeates bequeathed in 1731 an amount necessary for the maintenance of two free schools in his portion of the parish. Aside from such acts of loyal, public-spirited citizens, schools were few and teachers underpaid and inadequately equipped for the work to which they had been assigned.

Whatever difficulties presented themselves as obstacles to formal education, however, there is no question that these early Tidewater Virginians were well schooled in the practical affairs of life—the business of earning a living with their minds and hands in face of the most severe difficulties, the building of new communities in which they could live together under conditions more agreeable to them than had been the case on the other side of the Atlantic, and the continuing struggle of defense against a mounting series of abuses from the English Government overseas. When the Revolutionary War finally brought to an end their grievances against the English, these men were able for the first time to cope with some of the more vexing problems that faced them in every-day community life.

After a constant effort to rebuild Suffolk through the forepart of the nineteenth century, it became increasingly clear that another war was threatening—one very distasteful, indeed, to those who seriously understood the circumstances, and one which was to cause considerable havoc to the new North American nation.

As the War between the States came ever closer, Suffolk once more became a training camp for troops, not only from Nansemond County and nearby North Carolina, but from as far distant places as South Carolina and Georgia. When the war actually started, Norfolk was abandoned very early. At its evacuation on May 10, 1862, most Suffolk people expected a hot pursuit of the Northern victories to extend inland to this town and to Nansemond County. Consequently Confederate troops took full charge of

the community, but were unable to prevent Colonel Dodge's New York Cavalry from riding into Suffolk and taking possession on May 12, 1862. The Confederates at that time withdrew to the far side of the Blackwater River, as Federal troops arrived in force. General Peck took command in September, and preparations were made from that time onward for battle, with ten miles of batteries turning the whole area into an armed camp.

On November 14, 1862, there was a skirmish between 300 Confederates and the New York Mounted Rifles, after which the Confederate troops, under Colonel Claiborne, retired beyond the Blackwater River. In the spring of 1863, General Longstreet, commanding forces at Petersburg, crossed the Blackwater to obtain provisions from Nansemond County, Isle of Wight County and nearby areas of North Carolina. It was also their intention to make a definite demonstration against Suffolk, preventing the forces there from joining up with General Hooker's Army, which at that time General Robert E. Lee was endeavoring to draw into battle.

On April 11, 1863, Longstreet advanced on Suffolk. There was a skirmish on South Quay Road, as a result of which the Federal pickets were driven back. On the following day there were skirmishes on the Edenton, Providence Church and Somerton roads. The Confederate Forces at that time pushed on to the north bank of the Nansemond River, planting their battery near the Norfleet house, a few miles below the town of Suffolk. There they were able to open fire on the gunboats in the river, and so succeeded in disabling the *Monmouth*, the *Washington* and the *West End*, all three of which vessels drifted on the flats for a time but were finally towed off by the *Stepping Stones* and fell limping down the river.

Another Confederate Battery established a position at the mouth of the Western Branch. On April 19 Lieutenant Lamson, of the Federal forces, took Huger's battery, at Hill's Point, by surprise. A storming party of 500 attacked the fort from the rear, and because no one had expected this type of attack, the Confederate Army in the neighborhood, under the command of General French, had failed to establish an adequate picket line. Captain Stribling, in command of Huger's Battery, was completely ignorant of what was happening until it was too late for action, the Union troops being too close at hand to permit of adequate resistance. Besides, the guns were all facing the river, and could not quickly or easily be turned to face where they were needed. The result was that the battery was captured and 125 men were taken prisoner.

On April 23 a further skirmish took place at Chuckatuck. It was followed on April 24 by two attacks by Federal troops on the Confederate picket lines south of Suffolk. There were several sallies of brisk fighting on that occasion, but few casualties. On May 3 Longstreet began to withdraw beyond the Blackwater to his old lines, and the siege of Suffolk was ended. Skirmishing

took place on that day near Hill's Point, Reid's Ferry and Chuckatuck. The activity was actually very limited, however, and affairs seemed to be definitely quieting down.

Longstreet tried to get the Confederates to send the gunboat *Richmond* down the James River to the Nansemond River, but obstructions in the river prevented. Longstreet wrote to Lee that he could take the works at Suffolk by an out-and-out assault, but that such an attack would cost 3,000 men. The project was abandoned, because it was not considered to be worth the sacrifice involved. "If you were to capture Suffolk," General Lee wrote in that connection, "I could not spare men to garrison it."

During the nearly three years of Federal occupation of Suffolk, the government of the county was suspended. Court sessions had to take place elsewhere, as, for instance, on February 8, 1864, at South Quay Church. In August, 1865, sessions were again held at the Court House in Suffolk, although Peter Prentis, the county clerk, was arrested by Federal forces and imprisoned at Point Lookout. During the war, the county records were taken to Norfolk, where they were kept in the Customs House. They were not destroyed, however, but were returned to Suffolk at the close of the war.

What war had left unmolested, an irony of peacetime was destined to destroy. It was the night of February 7, 1866, that the clerk's office in Suffolk caught fire and was totally wiped out. All the records kept safe throughout the War between the States were thus lost for the third time in the county's history very soon after the restoration of peace.* Thus Suffolk, exhausted by support of large numbers of occupying troops during the war, had to begin life over again, as the record itself had to start anew with new County Court House files covering the history and accomplishments of this region.

From a community which housed 60,000 Federal troops during the Union occupation, Suffolk dwindled in size until there were only 300 people in the entire town. With the end of the war, rebuilding started once again in this stricken community. In 1869 the Farmers' Bank of Nansemond gave the community an important financial basis, mainly through the work and influence of Dr. William B. Wellons and his friends. The new bank experienced a rapid growth under the management of Colonel John R. Copeland and William H. Jones, Jr.

In 1871 the public school system began. Suffolk's School Board was composed of John R. Kilby, E. B. Britt and William D. McClenny, with R. L. Brewer, Sr. as superintendent of both county and town schools. The schools were operated for three months of the year, and were attended by 186 white and 141 colored children of school age in the town. The school

* One local tradition has it that the fire was of incendiary origin, resulting from a dispute over an estate and the desire of parties concerned to destroy the records relating to it (Editor's Note).

program had been sufficiently successful by 1874 for the public schools to be able to run four months instead of three.

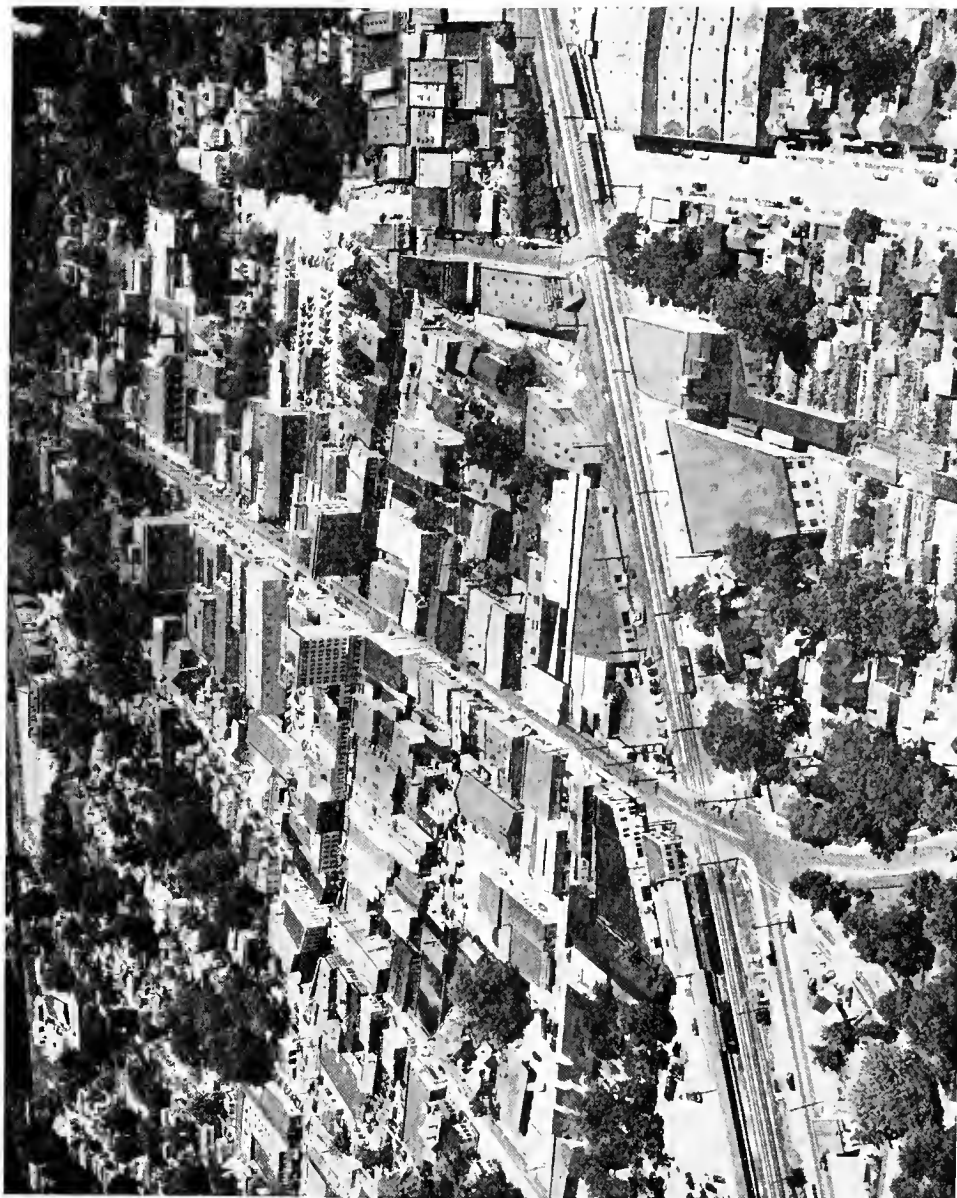
In 1872 a new town charter was granted, providing for town offices, including a sergeant, a clerk, an assessor, a treasurer, an overseer of the poor and a street commissioner. In 1873 the *Suffolk Herald* was established. The Commercial Bank opened its doors and a tannery was constructed on Spring Street.



SUFFOLK—EARLY DAY STREET SCENE

In 1879 the limits of the Town of Suffolk were enlarged. The first Town Hall and Market House was built at Main and Market streets in that year, and in 1881 the Suffolk Cotton Mills came into being and the Seaboard Air Line Depot was erected. It was about 1885 that Lake Kilby was purchased to supply water for Portsmouth, Berkley and Suffolk. In June of that year another destructive fire came to the town, destroying Suffolk's entire business district. In the rebuilding that followed, the Baker Building was put up. In the same year a steamship line to Norfolk was established. In 1886 Suffolk was definitely a lumber center, with about \$1,000,000 invested in this industry by local citizens. Still another fire came to Suffolk in August, 1888, once more practically wiping out the business district.

Never did these disasters seem to prevent the community from re-establishing itself, and usually it was the case that each new Suffolk, rising from the ashes of disaster, was greater than the one that preceded it. In the year following the fire of 1888, the First National Bank was opened for business and the Law Building was erected. In 1890 the first electric light



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

SUFFOLK—AIR VIEW

plant was established, and in 1891 street car tracks were laid. Thus the basis was established for the creation of modern Suffolk. By 1895 the first telephone exchange was opened here, and at about the same time the *Weekly Observer* was established as a community newspaper. In 1890 there were 697 children of school age in the town. In 1894 a new County Clerk's Office was built. The Bank of Suffolk was organized in 1899.

By the turn of the century Suffolk had definitely taken on new life, and was on its way to becoming thoroughly modern. Since that time new factories have come into existence and old ones have increased their capacity, with the result that Suffolk is now the largest peanut market in the world, and the products of its factories and shops are sent to all parts of this country and to many nations beyond the seas.

Since 1910 Suffolk has been a city. It was on October 1 of that year that this changeover in municipal government took place. Since that time Suffolk has had its own city officers and courts, and has been completely separated politically from the rest of Nansemond County, although naturally the same friendly relations exist now between city and county as has always been the case in the past.

In 1911, the erection of a new United States Post Office Building was initiated. Two new banks, the American Bank and Trust Company and the Phoenix Bank of Nansemond, an institution for colored people, have been established.

The *Suffolk News Herald* was established as a daily paper at about that time, and school facilities were greatly improved by the construction of five large buildings. Three impressive white bank buildings were erected in the business district, and the large Planters Nut and Chocolate Company became one of the outstanding industries in the entire state. Planters Peanuts are known far and wide, and not only have a world-wide market, but bring a knowledge of Suffolk and Virginia to people in all parts of the United States and elsewhere throughout the world. Other developments of the early years of this century included the enlargement and improvement of the Suffolk Fire Department, the grading and paving of streets, the rebuilding of many churches in the area and the modernizing of these and other cultural institutions. The water system was also improved, and Suffolk's lighting facilities early became outstanding in the state. A new gas supply system was established early in the century to provide Suffolk homes and businesses with light and heat.

Throughout the era of modern Suffolk, many large new homes have arisen, and new residential districts have been developed and business areas created. The sewer system has been enlarged and improved.

Modern Suffolk was destined not to advance in uninterrupted peace, for like other communities throughout America, it was affected by the three more

recent wars—the Spanish-American War, which began with the blowing up of the United States Battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, and the two World Wars, which have interrupted and changed the entire social life of the twentieth century. In the Spanish-American conflict, Suffolk and Nansemond County provided two companies of volunteer soldiers, who spent nearly a year of service in the United States and Cuba.



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

SUFFOLK—LOUISE OBICI MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

Less than two decades were destined to pass before World War I began, and on April 6, 1917, involved the United States, which declared war on that date against the Imperial German Government. War preparations involved the strengthening of a local military company in Suffolk, which was ordered to recruit up to war strength, first serving at the local armory, then proceeding to camp. On June 5, all men between 21 and 31 years of age in this community were required to register for the National Army, and the Nansemond Draft Board registered 2,151 men. Soon these men were examined and sent to camp—at first only a few at a time, beginning September 5, 1917. As time went on, however, the contingents grew larger until there was hardly a week in which some men from Suffolk were not called into service. This situation continued until the signing of the armistice and the close of fighting on November 11, 1918.

The Nansemond Draft Board's report showed that 1,119 men had been sent into service in World War I from this community; but this number did not include many who volunteered for service and who did not come under the Draft Board's jurisdiction. Suffolk also organized a Home Guard service, to which everyone available rallied. The role of women in modern warfare

came into its own at that time, and as concrete results important Red Cross work and other war activities were handled effectively by citizens of both sexes and in all walks of life, and Suffolk went over the top in the sale of Liberty Bonds in every bond campaign. Nine men from Suffolk and Nansemond were cited for bravery, while forty-one made the supreme sacrifice—thirty-one white men and ten colored. Many others were wounded. When the war was ended, the soldiers returned home to engage once more in civil life and help build up the county.

Suffolk likewise rendered notable service in World War II, and many local sons entered the armed services in support of the country's cause. Some never returned, having made the supreme sacrifice in the course of duty. These were:

BAGGETT, LEE C., II, Sgt., M. Wife, Mrs. Gladys Duval Baggett

BAGLEY, JOSEPH H., 1st Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. Margaret W. Bagley

BARNES, JOHN GOODE, S/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Eleanor D. Wills

BENTON, CLYDE EARL, BM2c, N. Mother, Mrs. Wallace Benton

BENTON, HOWARD W., Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Bernice L. Benton

BLACKMAN, JAMES LEO, S, N. Wife, Mrs. James L. Blackman

BOYCE, EMMETT L., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Maggie E. Boyce, R. F. D. 2

(Also Nansemond County)

BRINKLEY, WALLACE RAYMOND, Ens., N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Wallace

Brinkley, R. F. D. 2

BRITTINGHAM, JOHN, Ens., N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Brittingham

(Also Lunenburg County)

BRYANT, JUNIUS MANSFIELD, T/5, A. Father, John William Bryant

(Also Nansemond County)

COHOON, GEORGE URQUHART, Cpl., A. Mother, Mrs. Sue Urquhart Cohoon

CROSS, ALPHONSO, T/5, A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Cross, R. F. D. 2

DUKE, MILLS E., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Dora L. Duke

DUNN, WILLIS ALLEN, S/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Wilkie Dunn

GRADY, ROBERT C., JR., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Verna J. Grady

HARRELL, CLARENCE W., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Ruth S. Harrell

HOWLE, BAXTER MCLENDON, AMM3c, N. Wife, Mrs. Mary Oneida Outlaw
Howle

HUDSON, CHARLIE THOMAS, T/Sgt., A. Father, Henry Clay Hudson, Detroit,
Michigan

(Also Halifax County)

JOHNSON, DONALD MILBY, 1st Lt., M. Wife, Mrs. Harriett Eloise Brown
Johnson

(Also Isle of Wight County)

JOHNSON, OCIE POWELL, Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Bessie E. Powell Johnson,
R. F. D. 3

(Also Nansemond County)

JOHNSON, ROBERT YATES, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Bessie E. Powell Johnson,
R. F. D. 3

(Also Nansemond County)

JONES, FRANK W., JR., FO, A. Mother, Mrs. Naomi K. Jones

KELLEHER, HAROLD J., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Virginia L. Kelleher, R. F. D. 2
(Also Nansemond County)

LEWIN, CHARLES T., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Ethel O. Lewin

LEWIS, WARDELL, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Annie M. West Lewis, R. F. D. 4
(Also Nansemond County)

LUCAS, PERRY A., T/Sgt., A. Brother, Harry Lucas

MASON, LINWOOD, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Amy Mason

MATTHEWS, EDWARD E., JR., Pfc., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Edward E.
Matthews

MUSSELWHITE, ELWOOD F., AS, C. Father, Ashbern M. Musselwhite, R. F.
D. 4

(Also Nansemond County)

PINKERTON, RAYMOND EVERETT, S3c, N. Wife, Mrs. Mortley Roberts Pinker-
ton

POWELL, OTIS GORDON, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Susie E. Taylor Powell,
R. F. D. 3

(Also Nansemond County)

PRIVOTT, GEORGE WILLIAM, Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Margaret L. Babb Privott,
R. F. D. 1

(Also Nansemond County)

ROBERTS, RALPH C. JR., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Maurine E. Roberts

SHILSKY, SAMUEL, Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Fischel Shilsky

SOLOMON, WALTER D., Sgt. Mother, Mrs. W. B. Solomon

TADLOCK, WILLIAM THOMAS, GM2c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Edward
Perry Tadlock, R. F. D. 3

(Also Nansemond County)

TAYLOR, JOSEPH EDGAR, JR., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Bernice Worthan Taylor,
R. F. D. 1

(Also Nansemond County)

WALKER, HENRY, 2nd Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. Bradsley Key Walker

(Also Nansemond County)

WALSTROM, HAROLD ALVIN, Acting Pay Clerk, N. Wife, Mrs. Margaret Jane
Walstrom

WILKINS, ERNEST L., JR., Cpl., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest L. Wilkins

WINER, BERNARD ABRAHAM, Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Irene Rose Stutson Winer
(Also Richmond City)

WOOD, ROOSEVELT, Mess Att.3c, N. Mother, Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Peoples,
R. F. D. 2

The relations between the white people and the Negroes have been harmonious in Suffolk and Nansemond County. The Negro, of course, became a resident of the county at a very early period. During the American Revolution some members of the Negro race served in the American forces from Nansemond County, notably in the Virginia Navy. There were several who remained loyal to the Stars and Bars during the War between the States, and who afterward received substantial pensions for their faithful service to the state at that time. During World War I one Negro from Nansemond County received the Distinguished Service Cross and was cited by the Commander-in-Chief, General John J. Pershing, who like other famous generals—Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston—and William J. Bryan—have visited or spoken in the county or have passed through it. Today, as in the past, relations between the races continue harmonious.

Modern Suffolk, despite the fact that it has been a city since 1910, has basically an agricultural economy which centers about its world-famous peanut industry. The numerous peanut-processing companies in Suffolk and nearby places date from the founding of the Suffolk Peanut Company on January 20, 1898. The creation of that company was immediately followed by the establishment of other peanut factories—a process which continued until Suffolk became the largest peanut market in the world, as well as one of the leading producers of candy in the United States. A large portion of the peanut crop is purchased by Planters Nut and Chocolate Company, which established a processing plant in Suffolk in 1913 and is now the city's largest industry, with facilities spread over 176 acres of land. Its payroll goes to about 1,800 employees. Planters purchases about \$15,000,000 worth of peanuts annually from farmers in the peanut-producing area. The association of candy and nuts is a natural one, and the markets for the two are closely related. The Virginia type of peanut is regarded as particularly excellent, and is welcomed for feeding the hogs used in the Smithfield ham industry, as well as for shipment for human consumption to the North of the United States, particularly since the close of the War between the States, and now to all parts of the world. The value of the peanut crop in this area is more than \$60,000,000 per year. Among the older manufacturing plants contributing to Suffolk's prosperity are the Benthall Machine Company, makers of peanut pickers and other farm machinery for domestic and foreign markets; the National Screen Company; Farmers, Inc.; Ferguson Manufacturing Company; H. L. Warren Lumber Company; Ramsey Lumber Company; Johnson

Lumber Company; Virginia Casket Company; Roanoke Webster Brick Company; Suffolk Coca-Cola Company; Suffolk Oil Mills; Dixie Guano Company; Joel E. Harrell and Son; Nansemond Truck Package Company; Sheffield Lumber Company; and the National Produce Division of the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (formerly Farmers Nut Corporation).

Processing plants include American Cold Storage, Birdsong Storage Company, Columbian Peanut Company, Eberwine Cannery Company, Lummis and Company, Parker Peanut Company, Pond Brothers Peanut Company, Suffolk Peanut Company and Virlina Peanut Company. Suffolk has three banks, and Holland and Whaleyville have their own banks.

Other industries which have prospered in this region include meat packing, lumber, tea processing and the manufacture of farm implements, veneer baskets, screen doors and windows, creosoting, cinder blocks and bricks, marl dredging, and oystering and fishing. The products emanating from these numerous industries furnish both state and nation with needed merchandise, and in variety alone attest the importance of Suffolk and Nansemond County to the nation's economy. The Lipton Tea Company plant employs 200 persons and can process 15,000,000 pounds of tea per year.

Dairying and food processing constitute other important activities in the local economic life, as do contracting and engineering services. Suffolk's excellent transportation facilities have played an important part in the industrial growth of the area, there being five major railroads with terminals in this city, a deep-water channel to the sea to handle barge and small inland vessel traffic, thirty interstate truck lines providing services of value particularly to the truck farming interests of southern Nansemond County, and in more recent times a municipal airport which was turned over to the city by the Navy and is capable of handling the largest of transport planes.

The very names of Suffolk's industries suggest the reason why this city is the trade center of this prosperous agricultural area and why it has developed shopping facilities of unusual excellence, with many modern local and chain stores and extensive downtown parking facilities. The public utilities—electricity, natural gas and telephone—are thoroughly modernized and completely adequate to serve present needs and to expand for future growth. Electricity is supplied by the Virginia Electric and Power Company from its local Suffolk offices. The Suffolk Gas Company distributes natural gas, and the Commonwealth Natural Gas Corporation serves portions of the surrounding area of Nansemond County. Telephone service is supplied by the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company, which operates a complete dial system in Suffolk. Excellent water is supplied from the many nearby fresh-water lakes through a modern filtration system. These lakes also provide excellent facilities for fishing, not only for commercial purposes, but as one of the important recreational pursuits of Tidewater Virginia. The Great

Dismal Swamp and Lake Drummond, both treated in a separate chapter of this work, now serve as further sources of recreation for hardier souls who wish to explore them under the leadership of trained guides. Modern facilities for golf and swimming are also supplied for local citizens, and fishing and hunting opportunities are numerous.

The present modern school system is well supervised, and holds the confidence and interest of the entire community. Suffolk High School, with its beautiful modern building, trains students for a wide range of services in the economic life as well as for entry into advanced institutions of learning throughout this country and other parts of the world. There are many modern churches to satisfy the religious requirements of all faiths, and they are well attended.

Public health and medical services are provided by a modern city-county health center, the \$2,500,000 Louise Obici Memorial Hospital and School of Nursing, a 151-bed institution constructed in 1951. Forty-five physicians and dentists serve Suffolk and its environs.

Recreational activities also include six active garden clubs operating in Suffolk, with a total of more than 225 members. Their continuous program of beautifying the area's gardens and landscaping have added greatly to the city's attractiveness. There also exists a full-time recreational program for children, which is under professional supervision. Never to be forgotten, too, is the proximity of Virginia Beach, world-famed and only forty-five minutes distant by automobile from Suffolk.

Suffolk has, in addition to five banks with assets now totaling more than \$40,000,000, two building and loan associations to take care of its financial needs. The *Suffolk News Herald*, an afternoon daily newspaper, continues to serve the area, and Suffolk also has its own Radio Station WLPM, an ABC affiliate providing excellent news coverage and advertising facilities, as well as a vast range of entertainment, reaching the entire trade and residential area.

The well-drained land of modern Suffolk and vicinity averages 55 feet above sea level, and provides building sites for all types of new construction. The community's appeal has added substantially to its population and potentialities in recent years, and its role in Tidewater Virginia affairs is an ever-increasing one.

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Chapter XXIV

The Great Dismal Swamp

By *Floyd McKnight*

DEPENDING UPON THE POINT of view, the Great Dismal Swamp is variously regarded as one of the world's outstanding scenic wonders, as a potential source of untold natural riches, or as a veritable hell on earth. No lesser an authority than the nation's first President, the Father of our Country, had such faith in its possibilities that he organized a company to develop its resources after making personal explorations in 1763, a faith that was at least rewarded in the naming of the Washington Ditch and George Washington Highway, two major engineering projects which have left some enduring impression upon an area seeming almost beyond the reach of civilization. Another famous Virginian, Colonel William Byrd, who named the region "The Dismal"* in 1728, referred to it as reeking with "noxious vapors that infest the air."

Perhaps all the varying estimates and shades of opinion expressed regarding this grim and mysterious expanse are true. Certainly in season it is a place of rare beauty. A trip through its canals is a wonderful summer day's experience, with overhanging gum and cypress and red maple branches meeting and intertwining and the bald knees of the cypress trunks rising fantastically to the bodies of great trees. But each man may guess as accurately as the next how many members of the human race have perished beyond sight or sound or knowledge in the waters and quicksands and fern-thick forests that serve first as an enticing lure, then as a foul snare, to even many a hardy adventurer. Only wild conjecture may surmise even the number of dogs that have vanished practically from under the very noses of their huntsman-owners in the stretches of this weird no-man's-land; and the legends of these domestic beasts gone wild and roaming mad through the forest dimness may be based upon fact or fancy. There are tales, too, of mad lovers seeking their lost mates, only to become lost themselves in a morass of mists and water and mire and the eerie screams of horrible night-birds and even the wailing of unearthly ghouls. Perhaps the dreams of money to be made from the region's

* The word was formerly a noun (Webster); thus "a dismal" meant a dismal or cheerless place.

lumber and its by-products are factual; perhaps they also are predominantly legend. But George Washington thought enough of its potentialities to take the initiative in organizing "The Adventurers for Draining the Great Dismal Swamp," and even to value his 4,000 acres of swamp land at \$20,000 in his last will and testament.

Science has dreamed up many a project surmised to be suitable for development in this vast, mysterious acreage. The only wonder is that through decades, even centuries, the Great Dismal remains largely undeveloped, undrained, for the most part unknown, despite the supposed eagerness of so many scientists and engineers to devote their imaginations and faculties to new and bold undertakings. Or it may be that even the Dismal Swamp awaits the advent of some latter-day Washington to perform this almost super-humanly challenging feat. When travel to the moon seems only around the corner, one cannot but wonder if that engineering achievement will win in point of time over the cleaning and reducing to a status of usefulness of the Great Dismal. Ask the average Virginian, and he shrugs his shoulders hopelessly. As to legends of descendants of Nansemond Indians, fugitive slaves, escaped criminals and others gone wild and living within the confines of the Big Swamp, no Virginian gives much credence to them, because none who has come within shooting distance of the Swamp has been able to conceive how any two-footed form of life could long endure here.

Perhaps the name of the area has in itself been a deterring factor in its development. Ancient etymological usage identifies "dismal" with "evil days," even "Satan"; in southern United States the term has taken on the additional meaning of "swamp" or "bog." One of the two thieves crucified with the Founder of Christianity was named Dismas. When Colonel William Byrd paid his first attention to the area in 1728, he doubtless saw it as "dismal."

Dismal Swamp extends actually a distance of fifteen miles in Virginia and twenty-five miles in North Carolina, running north to south, and is about fifteen miles wide. It contains about 400,000 acres [600 sq. mi.]. In its central portion is Lake Drummond, where two man-made canals, Jericho and Washington Ditches meet. The canals were dug by the Dismal Swamp Land Company more than a century ago. They make possible the single major industry of the region—lumbering. Over a long period of years those venturing upon this lonely and hazardous occupation have carted away great cargoes of juniper and cypress wood through these hollowed-out channels.

Lake Drummond is almost circular in form, about three miles in diameter. It was named after a hunter who with three companions came here in the early days of European settlement in Virginia. His companions perished or were lost. William Drummond alone returning to become the white man's first informant regarding the beautiful, round lake hidden away like an amber jewel amid the juniper and cypress. He later became first Governor of

Albemarle (North Carolina), and was hanged for his role in Bacon's Rebellion in 1677.

The lake is, strangely enough, the most elevated part of the Dismal Swamp. Scientific-minded visitors to the swamp's interior tell of vast deposits of vegetation at the lake's edges. From its margins the rest of the swamp land tapers off in all directions at an inclination of about 20 inches per mile toward the periphery—sharply enough to provide a strong current in ditches three feet deep and four feet wide. Ditches, natural as well as man-made, maintain their banks in good order as a result of this favorable slope and the vegetation and rootage established by time and growth.

The water of Lake Drummond is wholesome. It takes on its amber coloring from the gum and juniper trees abounding in the nearby woods, and is often referred to as "juniper water." The keeping properties of "juniper water" are excellent. Some claim that its taste resembles that of sassafras tea, though even these representations of its virtues seem frequently to subject it to the danger of becoming as legendary as some of the persisting rumors about the Great Swamp itself. The saner type of record, however, tells how vessels leaving Norfolk on long cruises used to fill great barrels with Drummond's "juniper water" in preference to all other waters. Even today people bring it home with them in great casks.

The tale is told of a hunter who once ventured into the area equipped with a flask of stronger drink, and who stopped for the night at that hostelry said to have been built for "sportsmen and ghouls" about 1850, the Lake Drummond Hotel. In the room assigned to him was another bottle containing water from Lake Drummond. Upon quenching his thirst with a good draught of Drummond water, he suddenly became aware of its sassafras-like taste and observed its amber color. And in the overwhelming loneliness of the pervading gloom and the fright attending his discovery, that horror-struck huntsman was seized with an attack of what he could not for certain identify as delirium tremens or the death-throes of accidental poisoning. Nor were matters greatly helped by his ensuing drink from his own original flask, intended to induce forgetfulness of the whole ugly nightmare and even to ease the last agonies if such they were to be.

If fantasy and truth seem eerily intertwined with respect to Dismal Swamp lore, some satisfaction may be drawn from the fact that about such a place poetry may tell more of the truth than the practical-minded truth-teller may achieve with greatest effort. In 1803 the Irish-born poet, Thomas Moore, was commissioned by Lord Moira as registrar of the Admiralty Court at Bermuda. Moore made the trip to Bermuda, but, almost immediately appointing a deputy to take over, he returned to Europe by way of the United States and Canada, and, what is more important to the present narrative, learned of Virginia's Dismal Swamp. Specifically, he heard the legend, said to date from

Indian culture, of a bride who became lost in Dismal Swamp and whose lover trailed her only to achieve his own doom. So impressed was Moore with the fanciful story that he wrote "A Ballad—The Lake of the Dismal Swamp."

They made her a grave too cold and damp
For a soul so warm and true;
And she's gone to the lake of the Dismal Swamp,
Where all night long, by firefly lamp,
She paddles her white canoe.

And her firefly lamp I soon shall see,
And her paddle I soon shall hear;
Long and loving our life shall be,
And I'll hide the maid in a cypress tree,
When the footstep of death is near.

Away to the Dismal Swamp he speeds;
His path was rugged and sore;
Through tangled juniper, beds of reeds,
Through many a fen, where the serpent feeds,
And never man trod before.

And when on earth he sank to sleep,
If slumber his eyelids knew,
He lay where the deadly vine doth weep
Its venomous tear and nightly steep
The flesh with blistering dew.

And near him the she-wolf stirred the brake,
And copper snake breathed in his ear,
Till he starting cried, from his dream awake,
"Oh! when shall I see the dusky lake,
And the white canoe of my dear?"

He saw the lake and a meteor bright
Quick over its surface played.
"Welcome!" he said, "my dear one's light!"
And the dim shore echoed from many a night
The name of the death-cold maid.

Till he hollowed a boat of the birchen bark,
Which carried him off from shore;
Fair he followed the meteor spark;
The wind was high, and the clouds were dark,
And the boat returned no more.

But oft from the Indian hunter's camp,
This lover and maid so true
Are seen at the hour of midnight damp
To cross the lake by a firefly lamp,
And paddle their white canoe.

Perhaps the impressionistic sketch outlined above of this awesome stretch of land may serve as an introduction to some consideration of the practical significance, if any, of Dismal Swamp. The effect of the surroundings upon the minds of all visitors is actually such as to discourage any true appraisal of the Swamp's worth, sometimes even of its true nature. One may well question, for instance, Colonel William Byrd's report of 1730, after a visit to the area, that "no birds fly over." More recent accounts treat of it as a hunter's heaven, abounding with bears, 200 or more of which are said to be killed yearly within its confines. Deer are described as plentiful, and wild cattle, fleet as deer, live on the ridges running through the swampland. Otters, minks, coons and other forms of animal life are to be found, and woodcock inhabit the outer margins of the region.

Some reason exists for regarding the Great Dismal as a potential garden spot of eastern America, for it is known that, during the reign of the Saxon kings in England, that country boasted many bogs, which later were cleared. The remarkable fact about these cleared sections is that persistent fertility through the centuries has characterized these areas since that period. Down to the present the old English bog sites are identifiable by the single characteristic of heightened fertility.

Three species of trees tolerate water at their roots—juniper, gum and cypress. Pine subsists mainly on the ridges which are situated at the Swamp's outskirts. Juniper has the special characteristic that it occupies for the most part areas that are somewhat dry in summer. Both gum and cypress can grow, however, where the whole area is water-covered during the growing season. Cypress is, of course, the most water-tolerant of all; and both cypress and gum possess root systems which provide access to the air. The cypress's so-called "knees" develop only where the roots on which they rest lie beneath the water's surface during the growing season. The gum's roots arch up near the bole until they obtain air, and these protruding arches become covered usually with annual plants. If the arch is small, the tree is stunted. The body of the cypress is twice, or sometimes three times, as large as the base as it is ten feet above the ground.

For any one familiar with soils and what grows in them, the trees and plant life at once tell what kind of soil is present. Juniper thrives in light swamp land, often comprising nearly pure peat, made up of a brown mass of vegetable matter deriving from juniper or white cedar. The thickness of these

deposits often varies from 8 to 10 feet. About 75% to 90% of it is organic matter. When cleared and drained, such soil has little agricultural use. The peat customarily hardens and becomes caked like charred wood, and consequently loses its value for ordinary agricultural purposes. Nearly one-third of Dismal Swamp is made up of this type of light swampland.

The juniper districts make up the nursery for timber trees. Juniper reproduces fast; cypress, very slowly. Cypress wood increases no more than about 1 inch per year, and there are approximately three cuttings of merchantable lumber no oftener than every twenty years.

Dark swamp land usually bears cypress, black gum and red maple, and is richer in agricultural possibilities. Considerable organic substance is to be found in the upper portions of such land, but this diminishes with proper drainage. After fifty years of cultivation, the soil remains black. The use of lime can serve to keep it from becoming too acid. This land, when reclaimed, is highly fertile, and is capable of yielding from 80 to 100 bushels of corn per acre even when newly redeemed.

Potatoes flourish in light soil near the coastal areas and sometimes in heavier soil at the Dismal Swamp's eastern border. The average yield is about 80 barrels per acre. The cultivation of celery has begun on reclaimed black gum lands, and this product is described as being equal in quality to the best Michigan celery. It is said that the land on either side of the Jericho Canal in Nansemond County could be quickly rendered suitable for agricultural use by modern engineering methods. But the trouble seems to be that most of the labor is done by individual farmers, unaided by engineering science; and their interest naturally must be concentrated upon their own survival rather than upon development of any long-range plan that would be helpful to all farmers henceforth. A frequent occurrence has been that, by the home-made methods which have had to be employed, the reclaiming of one area has resulted only in the inundation of another.

Yet certainly a substantial share of Nansemond County's successful truck farming activity has its origin in this reclaimed swamp land, which is particularly adaptable to this purpose. The area is without question rich in its excellent soil, high-grade tillage, ready water source and favorable climate. The opportunities for quick irrigation in time of drought are unexcelled. Climate-wise, the Great Dismal is on the isothermal line, which means that here the climates of north and south meet and mingle, often making the entire year like an ever-continuing May. There are no extremes of hot and cold, and the floral displays are of tremendous richness, both picturesque and colorful.

Washington first became interested in the Dismal Swamp in 1763, when a company was formed under the name "Adventurers for Draining the Dismal Swamp." The "Adventurers" were William and Thomas Nelson, Robert

Burwell, Washington and his brother-in-law Fielding Lewis, Robert Tucker, Jr. (son of a merchant of Norfolk), Thomas Walker, William Waters, John Symes, and Samuel Gist. Washington and Lewis employed Gershom Nimmo, Surveyor of Norfolk County, to determine existing patents. He reported a total of 5800 acres, of which 3000 acres belonged to Tucker.¹

Washington went to Suffolk in May, 1763, and between the 25th and 28th made a circuit of the Swamp on horseback. He described this trip in detail in his diary, telling how the party rode south from Suffolk to Pocason Swamp (east of the present village of Meadow) four or five miles from Col. Edward Riddick's mill run*; thence to Cypress Swamp (still so called), and a short distance to the south they went a half mile straight into the Dismal toward Lake Drummond; thence across Mossey Swamp to the North Carolina line. There they went by Norfleet's mill, where Washington and Lewis had bought land, and Luke Sumner's plantation, and circled south and east to the Pequemin (Perquimans) River; they crossed the latter and the Paspetank (Pasquotank) River by bridges and proceeded to Northwest Landing (on Northwest River) in Norfolk County, Great Bridge, Col. Tucker's Mill (on present Willis Creek), Farley's Plantation (east of Bower's Hill), Robert's Ordinary (east of Shoulder's Hill) Cowper's Mill (north of Magnolia), Riddick's Mill (near Suffolk Fair Grounds) and back to Suffolk.**²

Washington again visited the Dismal Swamp in 1766 (November), 1767 (April), and 1768 (October). On the latter occasion, his diary gives the following information:

- [October] 26. Breakfasted in Suffolk, dined and lodged in the Dismal Swamp at John Washington's.
- 27. Went up to our Plantation at Norfleet's in Carolina*** and returned in the aftern.
- 28. Went into the Pond [Lake Drummond] with Colo. Lewis, Major Reddick, and John Washington, and at night went to y^e Majrs.
- 29. Got to Smithfield in return to Williamsburg.
- 30. Set out early, breakfasted at Hog Island and dined in Williamsburg.³

Eventually the Dismal Swamp Land Company dug two canals. One of these, five miles long, is the one that bears Washington's name. The other, running at right angles to it, is the Jericho Canal, ten miles in length, ex-

¹ Douglas S. Freeman, *George Washington, a Biography*, III, 87-103, *passim*.

* This was a brother of Willis, Henry and John Riddick. In the old records, the name was written as often "Reddick."

** All the modern indications of location are approximate.

² John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Diaries of George Washington*, I, 188-194.

*** Gates County.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 296-7.

tending from a point two miles from Suffolk directly to Lake Drummond. Along their banks in spring and summer months the colors increase in number and variety and sharpen in tone among the shadows beneath the arching branches of overhanging gum and cypress and red maple. Every stump that the axe has spared is overgrown with wild ivy or eglantine, while ferns as high as a man's head wave and whisper in the breeze.

The tradition that Washington personally surveyed the canal that bears his name is open to some doubt. It seems more probable that it may have been done by Gershom Nimmo, above mentioned. Washington Ditch begins at a point about five miles south of Suffolk on the White Marsh Road, and goes directly in to Lake Drummond. It is told of him that one evening, while inspecting this area, Washington was returning to the camp, when he encountered an infuriated bear and had to drop his tools and climb a juniper tree to safety. Stories persist, too, of juniper rails from his old log cabin here that are still to be found in fences bordering local farms.

Largely as a result of Washington's energy, some lumbering business developed and a town sprang up on the White Marsh Road at the end of the canal. Dismal Town, as it was called, was a place of brisk trading in its day. A large school was conducted there by a man named Montague. The timber that was extracted from the area found far wider than local use, some of it having been shipped to England once it was hauled through the canals and down the Nansemond River.

But even though Washington referred to the Swamp as a "glorious paradise" and visited it at least a half-dozen times, the hamlet of Dismal Town is less than a ghost town now, scarcely even a memory in the mind of man. The Swamp remains undeveloped, and men live their whole lives at its edges without ever venturing to enter it. They seem for the most part satisfied to listen with dubious ear to the stories of its beauty, its ghostly mystery and ghastly quicksands, its legendary tales and even its vast economic possibilities.

Certainly by 1790 the last Indian who may ever have retreated into its depths was gone, either by flight or by death. Besides the two canals mentioned above, four additional ditches connect Lake Drummond with the outside world. To the east of the Swamp, the Dismal Swamp Canal begins at the village of Deep Creek, six miles southwest of Portsmouth, and connects Hampton Roads with the Pasquotank River, near whose headwaters are vast quicksand areas—naturally a frightful hazard to human penetration. This canal is fifty feet wide and navigable for vessels with a seven-foot draft. The Pasquotank River, of course, supplies an outlet to Albemarle Sound, from which all commerce, military and civilian, had to be carried on during wars when an enemy interrupted the usual flow of business through Norfolk.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century numerous imaginations

seem to have been again seized with the Swamp's potentialities. In 1850 the Lake Drummond Hotel was built, and in the same year another hostelry went up near the North Carolina border. Stories again were circulated of fugitive slaves hiding in this area or finding refuge in the swampland. Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, *Dred*, published in 1856 and also issued under the name of *Nina Gordon*, contains reference to slaves fleeing to Dismal. Still later tales tell of mad moonshiners living here, who killed all intruders on sight. But most contemporary opinion holds that neither slave nor criminal nor moonshiner could himself long live in Dismal, and that no moonshiner would be needed to kill an intruder on sight, since an intruder who was anything but extraordinarily cautious or well-guided would stand little chance of lasting long enough for that termination of his career.

Hunters who enter Dismal Swamp take along a cowhorn to call their lost dogs. The seasoned men among them blow the cowhorn—even blow it hard and long—when their dogs turn up missing. But they do not go in search of the foolish animal that has become mired in quicksand or fallen into deep fire-holes in burned peat beds. They call it a loss of one dog and reconcile themselves to the loss.

Not so with the Haywoods, who themselves were saved only by a miracle of fate after setting out to find their lost dog. William E. Haywood was a Portsmouth ship fitter, sixty-six years of age when he took his son, Alton Haywood, aged nineteen, into the Dismal on December 12, 1955, on a hunting trip. When Alton's dog was lost, the boy decided to search for her after she failed to answer his calls. Hardly had he left the beaten path until he found himself knee-deep, then waist-deep, in unsuspected water, or stumbling into an invisible fire-hole in the peat. What appeared as a field in the dimness turned out to be nothing but water. Then the Haywoods took time out from their search for the lost dog to search for each other. Mirage and oncoming darkness combined with the trickiness of the region's own format to drive them to a condition of near-frenzy. As darkness fell and they used up their matches, all but seven of them, they were afraid even to strike a match. Cautiously they struck six of the seven, attempting in vain to light a fire of "dry wood" that was still not dry enough to burn. Then the dog appeared, but not until Alton Haywood was half dead from fright.

The Haywoods, both father and son, as well as their dog, finally escaped. Their animal was not one of those remaining to make up the rumored herd of hunting hounds that roam wild and frightened through the matted forests until occasionally one of them emerges at the Swamp's edge when least expected to resume his civilized life with mankind.

Whatever the future of Dismal Swamp may be as a source of natural wealth or as a scenic treasure-land for the National Park Service, it remains a region to be feared and for the most part shunned except for the wise ad-

venturer with experience to cope with its dangers and pitfalls. Its minks, its endless expanse of mistletoe growing wild, may offer a continuing lure to those impulses forever driving man onward to romance and achievement. But as one commentator was inspired to ask, "What good is all this mistletoe in such a place?"

In 1923 fire was added to the horrors of the Great Dismal. What would under normal circumstances refuse to burn caught fire by some mysterious means, and spread over an area of 150 square miles before it played itself out. Over a period of two years, fire that had seemed long since gone suddenly reappeared in smouldering peat-beds, emerging to the surface where least expected.

What is the untold story that science will tell at some unknown future date of the role of this no-man's-land, this "glorious paradise," in the life of Virginia and of this nation in years to come?

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PART FOUR
THE COUNTIES OF WARWICK RIVER
AND WARROSQUYOAKE

Chapter XXV

Warwick River Shire

1634-1957

By Floyd McKnight

AS NOTED IN A previous chapter, the Colony of Virginia was divided in 1634 into eight shires or counties for administrative purposes, having previously (since 1619) been divided into four corporations. The area then designated as Warwick River Shire had its name changed in 1643 to Warwick County, the term "shire" being even sooner superseded by the more usual word still in use today. Prior to 1634 this area was a part of the Corporation of Elizabeth City and its history for that time was given in the chapter under that heading; at that time we told of the early plantations, monthly courts, parishes and representatives from this area in the House of Burgesses. The present chapter tells the story of Warwick County from its independent existence to the present time. This county is unique among the eight original counties, in that it was the only one never subdivided to form new counties, and the present city of Newport News—with the exception of some minor adjustments of boundary—is contained within the 1634 limits of the old Shire of Warwick River.

By 1630 Nutmeg Quarter Church was situated in the position of the present Warwick-on-the-James, above Hilton Village. By 1656 it was combined with Denbigh Parish, its church remaining as a chapel-of-ease of Denbigh.

The development of the early churches followed the course of convenience, as did the occasional mergers of parishes. Lists of 1680, 1702 and 1714 give Warwick County's parishes as Denbigh and Mulberry Island. A 1724 report by Commissary Blair to the Bishop of London mentions "Denbigh and Mulberry Island" as one parish, and in 1725 an Act of Assembly renamed it Warwick Parish, Denbigh being the Lower Church and Mulberry Island the Upper Church. "Lower" referred to the area downstream; "Upper" to that which was upstream.

Actually, church records are difficult to find on the Lower Peninsula, those of Elizabeth City County having been destroyed in the burning of Hampton* and those of Warwick County during a raid by Union forces

* See Chapter VII.

upon the Warwick County Clerk's office during the War between the States. Some years ago a Warwick Order Book was picked up in a damaged condition, with a bullet hole through its lower margin. Decipherable portions confirmed the Virginia-wide condition of the times between 1748 and 1762, when the vestry were evidently having a tough battle on their hands to lure people to church. Frequently during that period the vestrymen were on record as taking the parishioners to task for "not frequenting their parish church." At the same time other denominations with more liberal leanings—above all, not affiliated with the Established Church of England—were arriving to take up the slack. In this condition within the religious life were evident the somewhat-more-than-dim forebodings of the imminence of the Revolutionary War. The same Warwick Order Book showed a similar period of disinterest around 1830, after which time Warwick Parish was dormant until the Chesapeake and Ohio arrived in 1880 to develop the modern City of Newport News.*

In 1633 a public storehouse for tobacco was built on the Warwick River plantation of Samuel Mathews. A record of March 20, 1633, gave evidence of the custom of all ships trading on the James River to stop at Newport News for spring water. The record was that of the Dutch navigator, Captain De Vries, who gave a description of the "fine spring" at "Newport Snuw," from which his ship obtained water. It was in the following year, 1634, that the eight original shires were created, among them Warwick River Shire, the name of which was changed to Warwick County by further act of the Colonial Assembly in March, 1643. Warwick was even then progressing on its path to the achievement of cityhood, which was to lead first of all to its becoming an independent city and then to its participation in 1958 in the formation of the Greater City of Newport News. Meanwhile, its relation to Newport News had to be brought to the fore and made the subject of much thought, as well as of some doubt and questioning, before it could be fully clarified and resolved.

As noted above, the economy was essentially agrarian throughout that early period, as was the case with most of the tobacco-raising areas of Tidewater Virginia. Probably in Virginia more than elsewhere, agriculture has tended to hold its own as opposed to the growth of industry, or at least to maintain a healthy balance with industry. Yet as early as 1650 the General Assembly was offering inducements for the creation of cities, and continuously since that time their growth has been encouraged. An Act of 1705, rejected by the English Crown because of certain weaknesses, specifically exempted town or borough residents from certain taxes, debts, impost duties and other obligations, including military service, which they would incur elsewhere in the normal course of citizenship.

* See Chapter XXVI.

With the development of modern attitudes of equality in matters governmental, the privileges granted to encourage the advancement of cities have been more specifically in the nature of economic advantages. Sometimes in more recent decades these advantages have taken the form of power rate reductions. On occasion these rates have been cut one-half for newly created cities, which have been thereby helped to "get on their feet." The late Governor Ritchie of Maryland said that "cities must be permitted to grow"—a doctrine in which Virginia's laws have, generally speaking, shown concurrence at all times. Encouragement of cities has often taken subtler forms. The Virginia Constitution of 1902, for instance, made annexation of territory a judicial rather than a political determination, and the courts have in the main followed this trend of thinking, as do the press and vested interests for the most part. Frequently newspapers have editorialized in favor of annexation as a matter for judicial determination, even when areas being annexed chose to disagree.

In 1680 the Assembly decided that more centralization of activities was advisable, mainly to facilitate trade, collect tariffs and establish better governmental and defense systems. The method employed by the Assembly at that time was to adopt legislation ordering each county to establish towns. At some time prior to 1691 (when the second town law was passed), fifty acres of land were purchased from Capt. Samuel Mathews at what is now Deep Creek. A town site was laid out, with subdivisions into lots, and a Court House and jail and a few houses were built. Later several other buildings, including a tavern, were erected. But the community envisioned, known as "Warwick Towne," did not flourish. After a short time Warwick Towne was but a remote and isolated spot in a predominantly rural community, and was not mentioned in the third town law (1705) establishing boroughs and ports.

The general prosperity of Warwick was none the less evident throughout that busy seventeenth-century colonization period. On June 4, 1667, a single event pointed unpleasantly the significance of the tobacco trade. Dutch warships captured the British frigate *Elizabeth* in the James River, off Newport News, using the ruse of flying British colors to achieve their end. They then overtook and made prizes of the rich tobacco fleet bound for England. What is believed to be the earliest gravestone still extant in Warwick is that placed over a hero of that battle, Colonel Miles Cary, said to have met his death therein and to have been buried at Windmill Point, on Lucas Creek, Warwick. His son, Miles Cary II, owner of Richneck Plantation, near Oriana, in Warwick, is said traditionally to have held court under the so-called Warwick Court Elm on his property. The clerk's office was at Richneck, and court is believed to have been held there around 1680 and for many years afterward. Justice Miles Cary II was also appointed as a charter trustee

of the College of William and Mary in 1693, and was rector of the college in the year 1705-1706.

A Virginia Rent Roll of 1704 listed 125 parcels of land in Warwick. Largest landowners were Colonel Dudley Digges, with 4,626 acres; Colonel Miles Cary II, with 1,960 acres; and Colonel Cole's orphans, with 1,350 acres. Prominent families of the period were those of Ranshaw, Roscow, Mountfort, Harwood, Lucas, Digges, Crew, Whitaker, Cary, Jones, Scasbrook, Wills, Llewellyn and Cole. Dated November 2, 1700, an old gravestone in Warwick commemorates a member of one of those families in its inscription: "Under this stone lyeth the Body of William Roscow, Gentleman, Who was born at Chorley, in the County of Lancashire, the 30th day of November Anno Dom: 1664, and departed this life at Blunt Point in ye County of Warwick, the 2d days of November, Anno Dom: 1700."

An event of unquestioned importance in the later seventeenth century was Bacon's Rebellion, which seemed to have little bearing directly upon Warwick's social or political life, except that it represented a widely cherished feeling that was destined to grow in the century ahead. As a member of the Governor's Council, Nathaniel Bacon, Henrico County, was chosen by Virginians who were dissatisfied with Governor Berkeley's Indian policy to lead an expedition against the Indians. The Governor refused to commission him to lead such an expedition, but he took matters into his own hands, invaded Indian territory in 1676, then was proclaimed a rebel by Governor Berkeley. But when tried before the Governor and the Council, Bacon was acquitted. Successful up to that point, Bacon and his followers used their popularity to demand abolition of exorbitant taxes, recently created suffrage restrictions and other evils stemming from across the Atlantic. When declared a rebel for the second time by the Governor, Bacon captured and destroyed Jamestown, but died in October, 1676, before he could accomplish the reforms he espoused. Because of the wide support which Bacon's cause aroused, Governor Berkeley took every possible measure to stamp out any vestige of rebellion by ridding the scene of personalities who might foster it and by humiliating any one vaguely suspected of sympathizing with the movement. Though Warwick had had little part in the entire chain of events connected with the Bacon Rebellion, it offered a petition similar to that forthcoming from other counties, asking pardon for any part it might have had in any way in the rebellion, noting that the county's participation had been small since it was remote from the immediate scene of trouble.

The ensuing century was a static period for the most part, during which Warwick grew but little. In 1739 the area experienced a "pirate treasure" fever. It was reported that such treasure was buried on Mulberry Island, possibly by the notorious Virginia pirate Blackbeard, who was killed by Lieutenant Maynard on November 22, 1718, and whose head was afterward

displayed on a pike on what became known as Blackbeard's Point, Hampton.

The English tyranny increasingly irked the colonists; and most Virginians were strongly partisan on the colonial side. As opposition to British colonial policy grew, objections were ever more undisguisedly professed, with the result that the English took precautionary and retaliatory measures and now and then affected a show of strength. On February 19, 1755, in connection with the war between England and France, General Edward Braddock entered Hampton Roads aboard the frigate *Norwich* under command of Captain Samuel Barrington. On March 20 he came ashore. Meanwhile, on March 9, the English ship *Seashore* arrived under command of Captain Hugh Pallister with seven transports of troops.

In Virginia, on May 30, 1765, the House of Burgesses adopted Patrick Henry's resolutions denying the right of taxation claimed in England, although, like North Carolina and Georgia, Virginia was not represented at a congress in New York on October 7, 1765, made up of delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina, who adopted a "Declaration of Rights and Liberties" on October 19 of that year and drew up petitions to the King and Parliament. In Warwick particularly interest ran high in the land and its yield, for the economy remained mainly agricultural. Here the people attended to their farming and related pursuits and to the advance of their civic and cultural activities. The political situation had already poisoned the life of the Established Church, which aroused little interest in the area. Many abstained entirely from church attendance, despite earnest pleas from vestrymen trying in varying degrees to maintain loyalty. Numerous citizens joined the "rebel" denominations—Quakers, Baptists, Methodists and others.

Even as late as 1772, however, efforts by the Established Church were in evidence in Warwick. On August 20 of that year the *Virginia Gazette* carried an advertisement for the construction of the Lower Church of Warwick Parish. The contemplated church was built in 1774, and parts of it exist today in the structure of the Denbigh Baptist Church, despite reconstructions of 1898 and additions of 1922 and 1923.

A very different aspect of cultural life was represented in establishment of a fine botanical garden on the plantation of Richard Cary, of "Peartree Hall," Warwick, in 1764. This garden gained credit far and wide as being the finest of its kind in the colonies up to that time.

There were still, of course, many Tories in the defiant colonies, and one of these was Lord Dunmore, the British Colonial Governor of Virginia. Four days after adoption of the Declaration of Independence, on July 8, the sloop *Lady Charlotte*, built in Newport News by Holder Hudgins, was used

by Dunmore to resist Virginia colonial land forces. Dunmore was routed at the battle of Cricket Hill, Gwinn's Island.

From time to time continental ships loading off Warwick's shores were sunk by the English at the mouth of the James River. While other portions of the American coast were subject to ferocious assault and in many instances forced to evacuate homes and cities, Warwick remained relatively unscathed at that period. Once an English force of forty men on a foraging expedition met a contingent of Virginia volunteers under Captain Edward Mallory at Waters Creek, now Lake Maury (sometimes called Museum Lake because of its proximity to the present Mariners' Museum). On that occasion the British officer was killed and his men were forced to retreat in rout.

By 1780 Warwick was also a heavy sufferer from the war, as was the entire Peninsula, particularly from the depredations of plundering English warships based in the waters of Hampton Roads. In May, 1781, a battle took place at Warwick Court House between Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton's men and 400 militia. The surprise nature of the English attack, combined with heavy rains which prevented the militia from using their arms, led to notable losses on the American side.

The English now concentrated their attention upon Virginia. In August, 1781, only a few months after the battle of Warwick Court House, there was an encounter between Virginia forces and a British foraging expedition, which took the form of a running engagement all the way from Waters Creek down the Peninsula to Newport News. By early September, Lord Cornwallis was entrenched at Yorktown, from which Washington was intent upon dislodging him. It was at Williamsburg that Washington met with Lafayette and Rochambeau, while a French fleet under Count de Grasse entered the Chesapeake.

Without the victory that lay ahead, the history of the world might indeed have taken a different course. And, like all decisive turns of destiny, victory was won by but a narrow margin. One of Lord Cornwallis' first acts had been to invade Warwick and drive out all able-bodied men from the area. To oppose him, the colonists assembled small boats of every kind and description in the James River—a fleet used to collect provisions for Lafayette's men at Williamsburg. Reinforcements from Maryland landed at Burwell's Ferry and Trebell's Landing, just north of Warwick. A portion of the American force then moved across the Peninsula to Yorktown, while Washington and his men marched across Warwick, stopping for rest and water at "End View," the Harwood-Curtis family plantation home, one of the few revolutionary houses still occupied. Water was abundant there, and the spring from which it was obtained is today one of the sources of Lee Hall Reservoir.

Warwick, once a bustling shore community with its own busy shipyard,

found its main business shifted to Norfolk and Baltimore after the Revolutionary War had ended. Families who could not afford longer to maintain expensive farms and plantations subdivided their properties by sale or inheritance, paving the way for a more modern era. But the transition was a tough one, filled with suffering for Warwick citizens, who in the official census of 1790 numbered only 1,690. The county was the third smallest in Virginia in population, and throughout its entire history as a county it was the third smallest in area, though as a city, after its status had changed, it was the largest city in area in all Virginia.

Warwick County's first Congressman, elected in the first free election under the new Constitution of the United States, on February 14, 1792, was Burr Bassett, Jr. Years passed before the county really recovered from the cruel ravages of war. By 1807 "Warwick Towne" was abandoned and the county seat was moved to "Stony Run," on the main highway connecting Warwick with Williamsburg. Richard Young bought the acreage which had constituted the former "Warwick Towne." In 1809 a new county seat was set up at Stony Run under the name of "Denbigh" after the Mathews plantation on Deep Creek. The same building today forms the main portion of the office of the Clerk of Court. A rough, hand-carved stone above the door to the office bears the inscription: "Nov. 1810, T. Sandy under T. R. Dunn and R. Ratcliff."

The war of 1812 brought further troubles to Warwick, as to the rest of the Lower Peninsula. British foraging parties were at work again while England attempted a blockade of the American coast. For the most part Warwick was endeavoring during this period to eke out an existence from the land, although success was meager and so remained for many years. By as late as 1880, when the City of Newport News was coming into existence, the population of Warwick County was only 2,258. The slow growth reflected the difficult times.

Nineteenth-century advances included the initiation of steamboat service in the James River in 1816. At the outset persons desiring to ride the early steamboats flagged them from shore, whereupon a boat stopped to pick them up. The steamboat *Powhatan* was the first such boat in regular service on the river. Later Newport News docks were built and served as a regular stopping place for the river boats.

In 1831 Parker West, who lived along the waterfront half-way between Newport News Point and Eighteenth Street, acquired Newport News Farm. Then, in 1848, Captain Richard W. Lee started to build his Georgian-style plantation house at Lee Hall. In 1851 the United States Post Office was established at "New Port News" at the foot of Bennett's Wharf, but it was discontinued in 1854 and did not become a permanent fixture in the community until the 1880s.

As Warwick County's economy made its way forward, with farm production increasing and more and more undeveloped land being put to use, the scourge of war once more fell upon the Lower Peninsula and the South.

On May 25 General Benjamin F. Butler, of the Federal forces, made a reconnaissance of Newport News Point, then occupied the area and established Camp Butler and batteries commanding the James River. On June 10, 1861, the first major land engagement of the War between the States was fought at Big Bethel between Confederate defenders under Colonel John Bankhead Magruder and Union forces under General Ebenezer Pierce. Detachments of Federal troops advanced from Fort Monroe and Camp Butler, but were repulsed.

The Peninsula was destined to suffer heavily in the stage of the war immediately ahead. Union forces under General George B. McClellan disembarked at Newport News as a build-up for a future Peninsular campaign which he hoped would lead to the capture of Richmond. Meanwhile, Confederate earthworks were constructed from Fort Crawford on Mulberry Island across the Peninsula to Yorktown—a fact which caused considerable delay in McClellan's plans. Magruder's forces, victorious at Big Bethel, now undertook to lay waste the countryside to prevent Federal troops from "living off the land." Before they had finished, Union forces appeared. Warwick families fled, taking with them whatever transportation and other goods they could take and destroying as much as possible of what remained so that it might do the Union forces no good.

McClellan then delivered to Warwick the major blow that the county suffered throughout the entire war, marching with his men up the main highway (Route 60), while others traveled the Yorktown road. Reaching Denbigh, the Union forces found the abandoned Court House full of records, which they carried off with them as souvenirs, or else burned. Except for a few pieces returned later by relatives of Union troops, no official county records remain of events in Warwick prior to 1865. As the scene of conflict shifted and former Warwick residents returned to their homes, many found the lack of records a matter of greatest difficulty and concern because of the trouble it caused them in ousting usurpers from their lands.

Meanwhile, McClellan's month-long delay before Yorktown and his incessant calls for reinforcements worried Lincoln, who had never been enthusiastic about the Peninsular campaign in the first place. The President's attention was rather drawn to a sea campaign.

McClellan was not the only Union general who tried to capture Richmond. Five generals made the attempt—McDowell, who in 1861 was defeated by Beauregard and Johnston; and then, successively, McClellan, Pope and Burnside in 1862 and Hooker in 1863, all four of them defeated by General Robert E. Lee. In fact, so skillful were Lee's maneuverings that he not only

barred the road to Richmond, but himself invaded the North two times—Maryland in 1862 and Pennsylvania in 1863. Although he was defeated both times, his opponents were content to let this formidable Confederate general withdraw into Southern territory without serious pursuit. The worst of American wars, despite Union victories in the Mississippi River area, did not come to an end until Lincoln turned over supreme command of the armies of the North to General Ulysses S. Grant, who pursued Lee in Virginia while he sent Sherman to Georgia to destroy railroads and food. Lee surrendered on April 9 to Grant, and Johnston to Sherman on April 26. Meanwhile, on April 12, Lincoln had been assassinated in Ford's Theater, Washington. Jefferson Davis, captured May 10, 1865, while on his way to re-establish the Confederacy in Texas, was held prisoner for two years at Fort Monroe* during the bitter reconstruction period.

During the years that followed, Warwick once more devoted itself to farming and fishing, as well as to trying to heal its manifest war scars. Early failures to practice crop rotation were felt now, along with other evils, and soil efficiency and productivity dropped together. Much good farm land remained in timber. Church and religious life remained dormant, too, at least as far as Warwick Parish was concerned. This condition continued for the most part until the coming of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway to Newport News, when religious life experienced a revival along with the new economic developments.*

First considered in 1868, by 1873 the railway was definitely projected. Surveys were being made to determine its course down the Peninsula to deep water. The terminus at Newport News was definitely decided upon, and Collis P. Huntington and his associates began their series of vast industrial developments, as recounted in connection with the history of Newport News in this work.* Huntington had been acquiring tracts of land in that area as early as 1866. In 1880 the Old Dominion Land Company was chartered specifically to buy and sell land. With the building of the Lafayette Hotel in 1880 and the great Hotel Warwick in 1883 in Newport News, Warwick County to the north found that it was on the threshold of the greatest prosperity it had ever known.

The railroad passed through the county's entire length, with stations established at points still bearing the same names—Lee Hall, Oriana, Oyster Point and Morrison. It assured Warwick's gradual industrialization. An early industry, chartered in 1886, was the Chesapeake Dry Dock and Construction Company, which adopted a remarkable slogan—"At a profit if we can, at a loss if we must, but always good ships." It later became the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company and a world-wide leader in its

* See Chapter VIII.

* See Chapter XXVI.

field. Today it extends across the waterfront of three former Warwick landmarks—the Briarfield Farm, the Betsy Lee Farm and the Robert H. Lee Farm.

Business, political and religious life once again were flourishing hand in hand. In 1884 Warwick County built a new Court House, to which a jail was added in 1899. In 1890 the county's population had attained an all-time high of 6,650. In 1891 the county seat was moved to the Peninsula's lower



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WARWICK—PUBLIC LIBRARY

tip, within the boundaries of what in a few short years was to become the City of Newport News, then a tiny fishing village. Five years later, in 1896, the Legislature chartered that city, whereupon Warwick moved its county seat back to Denbigh. From that time onward a spirit of rivalry grew up between the rural and industrial interests.

Even the long-dormant church life revived after the coming of Huntington in 1880. In that year the first services were held at Morrison, which was a mission of St. John's Church, Hampton. Later this resurgence spread also to Newport News, where St. Paul's became the parish church. Huntington and his associates themselves took a lively interest in the fuller life, too, and one of their projects was the establishment of a "union chapel" to serve the

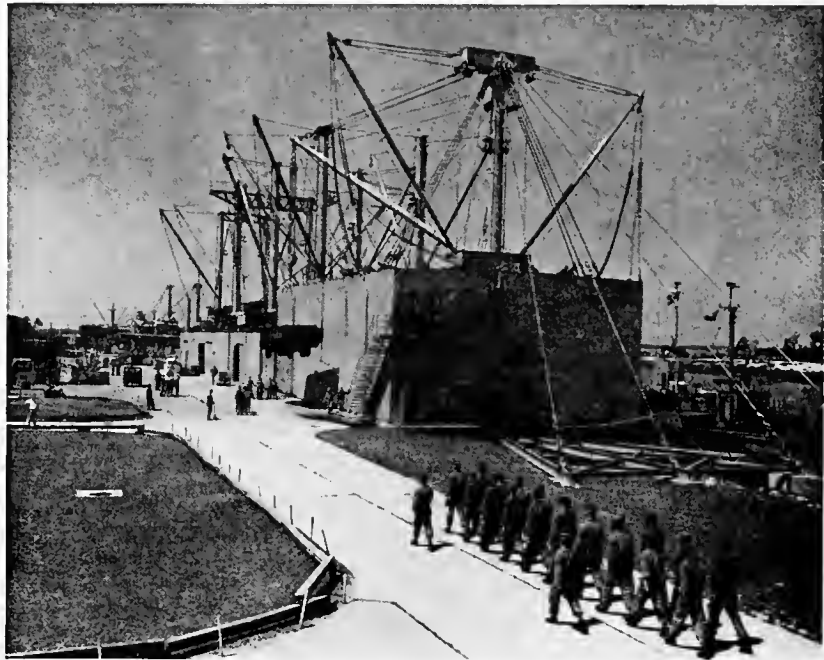
religious needs of all creeds. Such a chapel was actually built, and held its first services in March, 1881. Different denominations were free to meet separately, as they chose, within its walls; and that little chapel served as a starting place for several faiths, which afterward branched out and established their own churches.

During the Spanish-American War, Warwick was little affected except that she sent her complement of soldiers. Farther down the Peninsula, the new city's great shipbuilding company was turning out its first big capital ships, the *Kearsarge* and the *Kentucky*, following the period of mounting tension after the sinking of the *Maine* in Havana harbor. Wartime developments actually cut short the depression and tight-money period that had set in a few months earlier.

An important event for Warwick was the arrival, in March, 1897, of Daniel Shenk, of Ohio. Coming to Warwick, he not only established the Mennonite Church here, but laid the foundation of the 1,200-acre Mennonite colony by selecting a site and starting the first building operations. In a Mennonite publication he noted the variety of soil to be found here, though expressing the opinion that it was depleted, which the local farmers had discovered to their sorrow. He was sure that it would yield "very kindly and promptly to manure and good treatment." The new colony actually became one of the most prosperous agricultural communities in Tidewater Virginia, specializing in dairying and fruit raising. Mennonite farmers followed Shenk to Warwick from Ohio, Michigan, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee and Virginia's Shenandoah Valley. Since that time the Mennonites have taken a lively role in local affairs. Conscientious objectors during two world wars, they none the less constructively served humanitarian principles during those conflicts; and when few were found who were willing to remain on farms, even if not drafted into military service, the Mennonites went on producing the essential farm products without which mankind cannot long endure in war or peace.

With the start of World War I and the entry of the United States into that conflict in 1917, the entire Lower Peninsula became a beehive of activity. Workers rushed from the farms to join the armed services, or to industrial plants where they were needed and earned many times the incomes that had previously been theirs. The entire economy was dislocated and distorted, and the overnight doubling of the population throughout all Tidewater Virginia, with the added necessity of feeding and housing servicemen stationed in the area or passing through it, drained the area's resources dry. Camps Morrison, Hill, Stuart, Alexander and Eustis were established within Warwick's boundaries, and the county became the logical area for new homes that mushroomed into existence overnight to serve the needs of the new shipyard workers who had come from all parts of the United States.

In January, 1918, Hilton Village sprang up as the first of several such residential areas. The Emergency Fleet Corporation purchased 200 acres of the Darling tract, where with \$1,200,000 provided by the United States Shipping Board more than 500 homes were erected. The Army acquired Mulberry Island and there founded Camp Eustis, which afterward became Fort Eustis and on February 1, 1946, after World War II, was taken over by the Chief of Transportation and established as an Army Service Force Training



(Courtesy Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

FORT EUSTIS—"SS NEVERSAIL," ARMY LANDSHIP
USED TO TRAIN PORT PERSONNEL

Center. On August 21, 1950, it became the Army's Transportation Training Command Center, operating in conjunction with Fort Monroe.

For the remainder of World War I, Warwick was a busy center through which thousands and tens of thousands of boys passed on their way to the Port of Embarkation at the tip of the Peninsula. Trees were felled. Forests disappeared. Barracks and operational buildings arose in their places to serve military needs. Waterways and reservoirs were enlarged and extended. Soldiers came to watch over them and the other new installations, as well as the miles of new railway track laid to meet the needs of the times. The draftees from Newport News and Warwick totaled 1,671, and 38,242 sub-

scribers bought a total of \$6,574,250 worth of Liberty Bonds, although the quota for the area was only \$4,747,000.

In that war the entire Hampton Roads area had taken on new industrial importance, and Warwick County was no longer strictly rural, with only agricultural interests. After the war the new homes remained; Hilton Village was not torn down. Though many strictly military installations were dismantled, others were changed into serviceable housing for the pursuits of



(Courtesy Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

JAMES RIVER GOLF MUSEUM, JAMES RIVER COUNTRY CLUB, WARWICK

peace. Agriculture revived, too. Warwick was now no longer a county of 10,000 population, as it had been during the war crisis. But neither did it return to its former status.

Politically, its government still consisted, however, of the old county magisterial Board of Supervisors—three elected officials exercising full control of county affairs. With many residents of a new type flocking to the county and traveling to work daily in the industries of Newport News, Warwick was suffering from that city's growing pains. There was talk of annexation, and the strong and older bulwark of the county's population raised hearty objections to moves which they were certain would only increase taxes and multiply their hardships. Newport News was successful in seven annexa-

tion suits, the last of which came in 1940, when Warwick's population was still only 9,248 and its hard core of population was still strictly rural. But about half of this number were newcomers who found their livelihood in surrounding communities and did not share this purely localized loyalty. Signs of the trend were the very existence of Hilton Village, beginning in 1918, the rise of the Colony Inn, opened in May, 1927, at Main Street and Warwick Road by the Newport News Land Corporation, and the subsequent establishment of the Bank of Warwick on the site of this residential hotel. The growth of such institutions as The Mariners' Museum, the development of Lake Maury in 1932—these were but a few of the many indications of a change in trend.

World War II multiplied these changes, quickened industrialization and spurred the move toward cityhood. Warwick was now definitely a "boom town," providing more homes for workers than it had ever done in the previous war. Its population jumped to 33,950, many of whom were war workers, military personnel and their families, and employes at government installations. Camp Eustis was reactivated as Fort Eustis. The staging area of Camp Patrick Henry was created. Camp Hill was reopened and enlarged. Several ammunition dumps were set up. Government-financed housing was established at Copeland, Newsome and Ferguson Parks. Rural interests waned with the newer generation. The number of farms dropped from 303 to 146 in twelve short years. Only 15 per cent of the population were still engaged in agriculture, while 85 per cent were engaged in business and the professions, or in defense or military work. The resulting situation was one which the old Board of Supervisors was not geared to handle. New schools, new institutions, new methods were needed. And in 1945 the voters approved the county manager form of government.

By 1951 Warwick County, Virginia, was one of only sixteen counties out of all the 3,050 counties in the entire United States to operate under this type of governmental organization. Five of the sixteen so operating were in Virginia. While still a county, Warwick converted its government into a "business" for the sake of efficient management. The new form started January 1, 1945, with one of Virginia's ablest administrators, J. Clyde Morris, as manager.

Cooperating with Hampton, Newport News, Elizabeth City County and the Town of Phoebus, Warwick aided in the establishment of Camp Patrick Henry as a municipal airport when World War II was ended. As this and other enterprises matured, figures and facts gathered together after World War II showed Warwick County to be a heavy sufferer, though no battles had taken place on its land as had been the case in times gone by. Many local boys returned to the pursuits of peace and to take part in the gigantic community-building effort that was under way, but others who had served

their country in the great holocaust never returned, having made the supreme sacrifice of their lives in the course of service. Those who died in military service were:

BEVER, JOSEPH C., Cpl., A.

BRECKENRIDGE, GILMER JACK, Cpl., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred P. Breckenridge, Fort Eustis

BURRELL, JOSEPH L., Pvt., A.

CELIS, LYLE FRANCIS, F3c, N. Father, John Celis, Hilton Village

CLEMMONS, MCCLEASE, Pvt., A.

COOK, JOHN T., JR., T/5, A.

COPELAND, HOWARD CARLISLE, 2nd Lt., A. Father, Alex Copeland, Hilton Village

DAVIS, ALVIN MAXWELL, Pvt., A. Brother, S/Sgt. Charles Edy Davis, Hilton Village

DAVIS, FOSTER L., Pvt., A.

DAY, GEORGE, JR., Pfc., A.

DICKINSON, CARL DUNCAN, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Ruby J. Dickinson, Hilton Village

DILLARD, CLARK V., Sgt., A.

DUDLEY, ROBERT POWELL. (*See Hampton City*)

DUNNAGAN, JESSE WALTER, S1c, N. Father, Walter B. Dunnagan, Denbigh

ENGLEBURT, JOHN J., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Cora J. Engleburt, Hilton Village

FOWLKES, CHARLIE J. JR., Sgt., A.

GARBETT, ROBERT L., JR., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Bertha Garbett, Hilton Village

GATLIN, AMOS J., JR., Pvt., A.

GREGGS, WILLIE, Pvt., A.

GUTHRIE, PAUL LESLIE, Pvt., A. Sister, Mrs. Mary G. Gray, Hilton Village

HAWKINS, NORMAN D., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Ollie M. Hawkins, Hilton Village

HIGGINS, NED W., S/Sgt., A.

HOCKADAY, JAMES EDWARD, Pfc., A.

HOLLOWAY, ROBERT J., Sgt., A. Father, Robert M. Holloway, Denbigh

HUNTER, WALTER T., Pvt., A.

IRBY, EDWARD L., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Annie Irby, Hilton Village

JOHNSTON, HOGAN N., S/Sgt., A.

JONES, JOHN A., Pvt., A.

LOVE, WALTER E., Pvt., A.

MARSHALL, JOHN L., Pfc., M. Mother, Mrs. Amelia J. Marshall, Hilton Village

MARTIN, ALFRED C., Pvt., A.

- MASSEY, COSTELLO PAGE, Lt., N. Wife, Mrs. Costello Page Massey
 MERCER, JAMES E., T/5, A.
 MERICA, THOMAS W., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Emma F. Merica, Morrison
 MEYER, CARL HEINZ. (*See* Newport News City)
 MILLS, JAMES H., Sgt., A.
 MITCHELL, LESTER BAUMAN, QM3c, N. Mother, Mrs. Louise T. Mitchell,
 Hilton Village
 NELSON, BUFORD R., T/5, A.
 NETTLES, WILLIAM MARION, Ens., N. Wife, Mrs. Margaret Wilken Nettles,
 Hilton Village
 OGLESBY, HALMON L., Pvt., A.
 PEARSELL, WILLIAM L., Pfc., A.
 PENNINGTON, GEORGE F., Lt., A. Wife, Mrs. George F. Pennington, Toledo,
 Ohio
 PHILLIPS, STANLEY DOVELLE, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Margaret S. Phillips,
 Hilton Village
 POWELL, CHARLES W., Pvt., A.
 READ, CECIL EDWARD, JR., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Ethel Roosevelt Read, Hilton
 Village
 SALISBURY, JACK C., AvC., A.
 SMITH, JOSEPH H., JR., Pfc., A.
 SMITH, OTHA LEE, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Emma Sue Smith, Oyster Point
 SPENCER, JACK, Pfc., A.
 WARE, ROBERT EDWARD, Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Mildred Tabb Ware, Hilton
 Village
 WEAVER, GERALD B., Pfc., A.
 WILBERN, PHILIP M., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Benna Oliva Wilbern, Hilton
 Village

The main industrial growth resulting from World War II occurred, of course, in Newport News.* But Warwick's growth remained enduring to a large extent. The Korean Emergency, beginning in 1950, further accented the trend. A great building boom developed, mainly under the auspices of private enterprise. New subdivisions, complete with sidewalks, streets and every modern contrivance, replaced former isolated areas. The population figures of 1950 then revealed that Warwick had grown 331.2 per cent in ten years' time—more than any other community in the United States in that period. Newport News once again started an annexation suit, which was costly to all concerned. Warwick opposed consolidation when that question came up in 1950.

That development came to a head in 1952, when employment was high

* See Chapter XXVI, where these facts are detailed.

in the shipyard and at military installations throughout the Peninsula. Fort Eustis then housed more than 20,000 men as the Transportation Center and permanent home of the Army Transportation Corps, and the Federal Government was spending \$34,000,000 on a renovation project there.

Under such conditions, civic leaders obtained permission from the State Legislature to make another change in the city's governmental form. It was estimated that 52,000 people now lived in the county. Annexation to Newport News was displeasing to many, and a movement started to prevent even a small portion of the county from being so annexed. With these and many other factors gathering impetus, Warwick's citizens voted 5 to 1 in a popular referendum to change their county into a city—an unprecedented move in the nation's history. Warwick's sprawling 60-odd square miles of territory then became Virginia's largest city in point of land area and seventh in population in the state. Hampton, Elizabeth City County and the Town of Phoebus by consolidation took similar action at the same time, with the result that the Lower Peninsula now consisted of three cities instead of, as previously, two counties, two cities and a town.

The effective date of incorporation was July 16, 1952. Following provisions of its new charter, the City of Warwick elected its first full five-member governing council on June 9, 1953, and began to develop its council-manager form of government. In addition to the five elected officers required by law, Warwick also elected by popular vote its city treasurer, commissioner of revenue, commonwealth attorney, clerk of court and city sergeant.

But the City of Warwick was destined to continue only four years before another vast change took place. First in 1950 and again in 1956, three-way mergers were proposed embracing Newport News, Warwick and Hampton. In 1956 Hampton's negative vote had precluded that move. But the picture had sufficiently changed that, on July 16, 1957, the two cities of Newport News and Warwick were able to agree upon a two-way consolidation, omitting Hampton from the plan. On that date they voted to form a single city, the vote being 4,398 to 873 for the measure in Newport News and 3,939 to 3,253 in favor of it in Warwick. On September 10, 1957, they further voted that the name of the consolidated city should be Newport News. On July 1, 1958, the City of Greater Newport News became an actuality, thus acquiring Warwick's rating as the largest city in land area—sixty-four square miles in all—and becoming third largest in population, with its 120,418 residents.

County or city, it still retains its special character within the Greater City. Its residents once claimed for it the right of sovereignty as the third smallest county in the State. By consolidation with other interests it now achieves a greater sovereignty after a twentieth-century pattern.

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Chapter XXVI

The City of Newport News

1896-1957

By *Floyd McKnight*

WHEN COLLIS P. HUNTINGTON completed in 1869 the Central Pacific Railroad, a link in the country's first transcontinental rail line, he and his associates acquired the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad and agreed to extend it across West Virginia to the Ohio River. This extension opened up the rich coal fields of West Virginia to vastly broader trade outlets, and, what was perhaps more important, opened Huntington's imagination to new conquests and a new industrial empire that lay before him to the southeast.

With the road's eastern terminus extended by 1873 to Richmond, at the head of tidewater navigation on the James River, Huntington and those associated with him knew that the line's traffic potentialities could approach realization only if it were to be extended to an eastern terminus readily accessible to ocean-going vessels. Surveys over a period of years ascertained several suitable points for such a terminus on the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries—sites which offered suitable harbor facilities with adequate depth of water.

In the annual report of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad for the fiscal year ended September 30, 1880, Mr. Huntington declared:

After much research and deliberation on the subject of a suitable point on the Lower Chesapeake waters for a terminus, the Directors authorized me to acquire sufficient ground and water front for the purpose, at Newport News Point, fronting on Hampton Roads, at the confluence of the James River with the waters of the great Bay.

This is a point so designed and adapted by Nature, that it will require comparatively little at the hands of man to fit it for our purposes. The Roadstead (Hampton), well-known to all maritime circles, is large enough to float the ocean commerce of the world; it is easily approached in all winds and weather, without pilot or tow; it is never troubled by ice, and there is enough water to float any ship that sails the seas, and at the same time it is so sheltered that vessels can lie there in perfect safety at all seasons of the year. Lands have been secured having considerable frontage on deep water; and two wharves are contracted for.

Trains were operating over the seventy-four miles of new rails from Richmond down the Peninsula to Newport News in time for the Yorktown Centennial, October 18, 1881, and the official opening of the railway followed on May 1, 1882. Coal was an early item of commerce over the line, but before 1882 was ended a covered pier for general merchandise was constructed, 700 feet long and abutting upon 27 feet of water, and equipped with "the most approved facilities for the handling and transfer of general merchandise and agricultural products," as well as a coal pier 825 feet long and fronting on 30 feet of water, alongside which six vessels could be moored and simultaneously loaded with their cargoes. According to Mr. Huntington's report for 1882:

The advantages of the deep-water terminus at Newport News are already felt, in a greater degree even than had been expected at so early a day, especially in their influence on the coal traffic of the road, both in the reduction of vessel-freights for coastwise shipments, and also in the development of a new and profitable market for our coal in supplying sea-going steamers with fuel. The superior quality of our steam-coals for marine use, and the convenience and accessibility of Newport News as a coaling station for the largest steamships, are rapidly developing a business which is destined to assume very large proportions in the near future. One hundred and six ocean steamers have taken fuel at our Newport News wharves since the first one was coaled there in the month of August last.

With more than 100,000 tons of coal loaded in only a part of a year, the Huntington group turned to more extensive plans for Tidewater Virginia. In other areas where he had been active, Huntington experienced difficulties over land in connection with his railroad enterprises. Determining that this must not be the case in this instance, he founded the Old Dominion Land Company in 1880 and proceeded to acquire real estate in the vicinity of the big piers he had built. Engaging in the real estate business with the laying out of lots and their sale for business and residential purposes, he also set about charting the city that he envisioned in the surrounding area. The original map, made by Eugene E. McLean, of New York, and dated April 29, 1881, was filed in the Warwick County Court, but the file copy was lost. From the substance of that map, however, as shown on later maps that were drawn, the general plan was to a large extent followed in the subsequent development of Newport News.

By April 11, 1883, Huntington had opened the impressive Hotel Warwick, which long dominated the expanse of farmlands in the new community. From this hotel one could see, as one guest said, "the sun rise from the sea and set in the placid waters of the James." The Warwick long was dominant in the area, not only physically as a massive and towering structure, but as

a force in community life and a center where many notable personages met and foregathered and where giant enterprises had their beginnings.

The personages in those early days—to name but a few—included, for instance, Huntington's own associates, all of them industrial giants from the North—his brother-in-law, Isaac E. Gates, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, treasurer of the Old Diminution Land Company; Frank Storrs, of Brooklyn, New York, its secretary; James H. Storrs, his father; Harvey Fisk, of New York; and A. S. Hatch, of Hudson County, New Jersey. All of those men were original incorporators of the land company. One Virginian who was a director of the organization was John Stewart, of Brook Hill, Henrico County, whose grandson, John Stewart Byran, was for some years president of the College of William and Mary. Many other leading personalities stopped then and in later years at the Hotel Warwick, and from its spacious porch surveyed the new Huntington industrial landscape—a landscape consisting then of dirt and mud in a region where roads had not been built commensurate with the plans of the founders.

When a new project was to be launched, its sponsors found no better place to discuss it than at the Warwick, where they were inspired by the watery vista before them and the boldness and extent of the Huntington dream, as well as challenged by the very crudity of the beginning. In one of the Warwick's rooms a print shop was started, and the first Newport News newspaper, *The Wedge*, was published from this shop on April 21, 1883, by Cassius M. ("Cash") Thomas. Other developments of 1883 included a great grain elevator with a capacity of 1,500,000 bushels to promote the grain trade and provide the heavy cargo needed for the balanced loading of ships. In 1884 the so-called Kanawha Dispatch began soliciting freight traffic on a more extensive scale through creating faster water-rail combinations of freight movements between the industrial northeast and interior areas.

Perhaps the greatest and most enduringly important of these organizations was started in 1886—the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, which completed its first dry dock in 1889. This company has vastly grown in importance to the nation, building a continuous succession of giant ocean liners and practically all classes of ships vital to United States defense in modern warfare. Its achievements alone are a story of brilliant distinction in Newport News industry. In 1887 a direct steamship line was projected between Newport News and Liverpool, for which port the S.S. *Rappahannock* sailed on September 10, 1893.

Meanwhile, the vacant areas around the Hotel Warwick were attracting the interest of settlers who saw reason why they wished to throw in their lot with the fortunes of the newly developing community. The hotel itself remained a center of organization meetings for the many companies formed,

including those of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company and many others. In December, 1888, the Bank of Newport News started operations in quarters prepared for it in the hotel itself. Capitalized at \$25,000, the bank grew and prospered until, under a new charter dated September 19, 1891, it became the First National Bank of Newport News.

In 1888 the Hotel Warwick, through an official order by Judge G. M. Peek, even became the seat of the Warwick County government, which moved from Denbigh.* The County Court took over quarters on the hotel's ground floor. For four years the hotel was the center of county government until the new Court House was ready at Twenty-fifth Street and Huntington Avenue in 1892.

Among other plans revealed in the first map of Newport News, mentioned above, were those for certain streets and roads, beginning with First Street at the tip of Newport News Point. Probably under the influence of the approaching Yorktown Centennial celebration, preparations for which were then under way, the two main avenues indicated on that early map were named Washington and Lafayette. It was not until 1903, three years after Huntington's death and seven years after Newport News had become a city, that Lafayette Avenue was renamed Huntington Avenue by action of the City Council. That Council itself and the office of mayor were created in 1896, in "An Act to Incorporate the City of Newport News in the County of Warwick and to provide a Charter therefor," duly approved by the General Assembly of Virginia. The boundaries were thus described:

Beginning at a point at low-water mark on James River, where the center line of Fiftieth Street produced intersects the same; thence easterly along the said center line of Fiftieth Street to the westerly boundary line of the right of way of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company; thence following the said right of way southwardly to the center of Thirty-sixth Street; thence eastwardly along the said center of said Thirty-sixth Street to the intersection of the center line of Madison Avenue; thence along the said center line of Madison Avenue to the center line of Thirty-second street; thence along the said center line of Thirty-second Street eastwardly to the boundary line between the counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick; thence with said county line southward to the intersection of the center line of Twentieth Street; thence along said center line of Twentieth Street westerly to the easterly side of the right of way of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, being three hundred feet westerly from Warwick Avenue; thence along the said easterly side of the right of way of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company to a point in the line with the southeastern boundary line of George B. West's property produced in a northeasterly direction; thence in a southwesterly direction along the said line of George B. West produced

* (See Chapter XXV, "Warwick River Shire").

and with the said George B. West line to low-water mark on James River; thence along the low-water mark northerly to the point of beginning, in accordance with the map of the City of Newport News, made by W. A. Post, civil engineer; all of the said territory being in the County of Warwick, shall be deemed and taken as the City of Newport News, and said boundaries shall be construed to embrace all wharves, docks and other structures of every description that have been or may hereafter be erected along said waterfront; and the inhabitants of the City of Newport News for all purposes for which towns and cities are incorporated in this Commonwealth shall continue to be a body politic in fact and in name under the denomination of the City of Newport News, and as such shall have, exercise and enjoy all the rights, immunities, powers and privileges conferred upon cities by law; be subject to all laws now in force and all that may be hereafter enacted for the government of cities of five thousand (5,000) or more inhabitants, and be subject to all duties and obligations now incumbent upon and pertaining to said city as a municipal corporation.

Prior to that Act of Incorporation in 1896, the area destined to be included within the boundaries of the new city was the most populous part of Warwick County. The government was the county government, with the usual Board of Supervisors and county officers. The area incorporated as a city in 1896 had had a population of only 773 in 1870 and 948 in 1880. By 1890 it had 4,449 inhabitants, and by 1896 more than 9,000. The reasons for that outstanding growth have been recited in the story of the events bringing the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad and related enterprises to Newport News in the two decades preceding incorporation.

The thoughts of the founding fathers naturally turned to further improvements when the city form took shape. The Newport News Light and Water Company had already obtained a charter in 1889. The community's rapid growth now made necessary the creation of a sound police department, the existence of which actually preceded the creation of the city itself by two years. Impatient with the delayed actions of the old County Board of Supervisors with respect to new problems, some of the citizens of the new community engineered through the General Assembly in 1894 "An Act to Provide Special Police for Newport Magisterial District," as the region was called under the old county form of government. A resulting three-man Board of Police was instituted and empowered to appoint "a special police force, to consist of not less than two suitable and discreet persons, who shall have authority within the said magisterial district, and within one hundred yards of the boundary lines of the said district, to exercise all the powers which can lawfully be exercised by any constable for the preservation of the peace, the arrest of offenders and disorderly persons, and for the enforcement of the laws of the state against crime."

Problems that followed the sudden springing up of a growing city involved the building of schools, bridges, sewers, a jail and a hospital. Legislation in the General Assembly in 1898 therefore authorized the Common Council of Newport News to incur indebtedness and borrow money for public improvements. Twenty-two amendments to the city charter were adopted at the 1899-1900 session of the Assembly, most of them approving



NEWPORT NEWS—COURT HOUSE AND PUBLIC SAFETY BUILDING

the issuance of bonds and borrowing of money. One of the amendments created the office of city attorney. Another extended the city's boundaries to include the area between Fiftieth and Fifty-seventh Streets, then in Warwick County. This area, extending all the way from low-water mark on the James River to the westerly boundary of the Chesapeake and Ohio right-of-way, was the new city's first annexation.

Speeding by vehicles was a subject of early local legislation by the City Council. The ordinance adopted prohibited any animal or "beast" attached to "a truck, cart, wagon, sled, or a dray" to be driven, led or guided at a faster gait than "a moderate foot pace." Dusty streets were probably one strong reason for this action. At the turn of the century a "chain gang," so called in a city ordinance and by the public at large, kept the streets in repair. License fees were established, \$5 being extracted from a fish peddler and \$25 from one licensed to "tell the future." A fortune teller now pays \$1,000; a fish peddler, \$15. On "each and every person crying or selling patent or quack medicine in the streets or other public places," the license fee was \$5 per day. The city treasury did well on its income from license taxes levied

on the numerous open saloons and bar-rooms that flourished, with a sliding scale ranging from \$50 to \$100.

On May 19, 1896, the Common Council adopted an official city seal, bearing the motto, "*Magni Dei Datum*," which one former city attorney translated from the Latin as "Gift of the Great God." But by June 23 of that incorporation year the Council had returned to its favorite field of action—taxation. It then fixed a tax rate on real and personal property—60 cents on every \$100 of the assessed value of such property for municipal purposes and 80 cents for school purposes. At the same time there was levied an income tax. This ordinance declared:

On the salary or income received by any person during the year commencing February first, 1896, and ending January thirty-first, 1897, sixty cents upon each one hundred dollars value thereof in excess of six hundred dollars; provided that the salary of a minister of the Gospel and the salary of the officers paid out of the treasury of the City shall be exempt from taxation; and, provided further that no income shall be hereby taxed which may be derived from any business, calling or profession or subject of taxation otherwise taxed in this or any other ordinance of the City.

The city was only two years old when the Spanish-American War called attention to it. It became one of the main ports of embarkation for the invasion of the Spanish possessions in the West Indies. At that time Newport News launched its first battleships, the *Kearsarge* and the *Kentucky*. The Jamestown Exposition in 1907 laid heavy additional responsibilities upon the local government.

As early as the turn of the century Newport News became a sufferer from many of the ills that beset city life. In 1899 there was a yellow fever scare—particularly frightful at a time when many yet alive remembered the devastating epidemic of 1855 in the Hampton Roads area. The 1899 scare originated in illness appearing at the Old Soldiers' Home in Phoebus, and was later said to have been caused by polluted water from a cistern invaded by poisoned rats. Many citizens fled in alarm by boat and train from the Peninsula, and a quarantine boundary was established between Newport News and Elizabeth City County.

Another regrettable development at the turn of the century was the decay of the district around River Road and Eighteenth Street, which was named "Hell's Half Acre" and managed to live up to its name. By 1908 the practice of "crimping" at Newport News became the subject of an article in the July issue of *The Sailors' Magazine and Seamen's Friend*, attacking deplorable conditions on the local waterfront. "Crimping" was similar to "Shanghai-ing"—the practice of practically enslaving sailors by signing them on board ships when drunk or drugged. Whatever activity there was of this

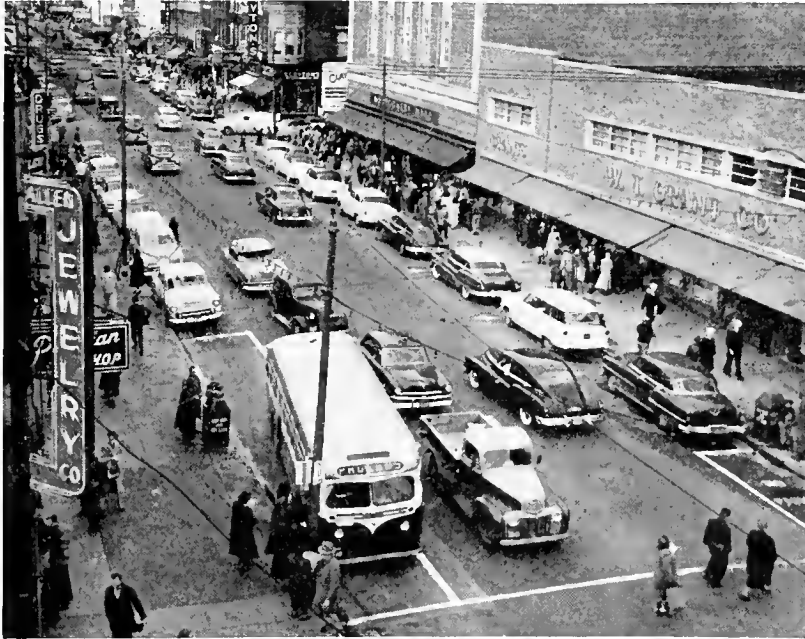
sort was an evil of "Hell's Half Acre." Nine years later another grim corner called by the picturesque designation of "Bloodfield" had arisen just beyond the city limits; and in order to clean it up, the city extended its limits from Twentieth Street, between Marshall Avenue and the Chesapeake and Ohio right of way, to low-water mark on Hampton Roads and the James River. This extension also served to bring into the city the then recently developed Municipal Boat Harbor.

In fact, over a period of years several annexations of greater or lesser importance took place, beginning with the area between Fiftieth and Fifty-seventh Streets at the turn of the century. Then came "Bloodfield" in 1917. On April 15, 1920, an area from Fifty-seventh to Sixty-fourth Streets was annexed because it had become solidly populated and was far removed from the other more densely inhabited parts of Warwick County. Effective January 1, 1921, the city moved eastward to Salter's Creek and its West Branch, between Twentieth and Thirty-second Streets. Six months later came the addition of an area bounded on the north by the Hampton Branch Line of the Chesapeake and Ohio and extending eastward to the Elizabeth City County line. On January 1, 1927, Kecoughtan came into Newport News on petition of its own citizens, as two months later did a small and isolated piece of land which, geographically, was more logically a part of the city than of Elizabeth City County, in which it had theretofore been included. On December 5, 1940, Newport News annexed a similarly isolated piece of Warwick County.

While it was thus growing in area, Newport News was steadily increasing its population. From 9,000 inhabitants in 1896, when it was incorporated as a city, the figure mounted to 19,635 in the 1900 census. A period of relative stagnation brought this figure only up to 20,205 in 1910, but by 1920, through the instrumentality of port activity in World War I, Newport News had 35,596 people residing within its boundaries. After another slight decline in the 1930 census, the figure reported in 1940, just before the United States entered World War II, was 37,067. World War II again gave a remarkable impetus to city development here, increasing the population to 75,000, then to 100,000, and holding for a considerable time at around 50,000 after the war emergency had ended.

The 1950s brought a further new phase of development to Newport News, with mammoth decisions of political and economic import and eventual growth of the city's geographical area and vast population increases. The result is that the greatly expanded city's population today stands at more than 120,000 inhabitants, while Newport News itself is a part of a vast Hampton Roads municipal development which, given certain favorable conditions, could easily emulate or even surpass that of the great metropolis of New York to the north. Suffice it to point out here that when the two

Virginia cities of Warwick and Hampton were separately constituted in 1952, each had a tremendous land area. Warwick was the larger of the two, having an area greater than that of Washington, Boston, Minneapolis, Denver or Kansas City and about the size of Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis or Baltimore. Richmond's land area was about one-half of that of Warwick. And Hampton's area was twice that of Norfolk. With Warwick and Newport



NEWPORT NEWS—SATURDAY TRAFFIC ON WASHINGTON AVENUE,
NORTH FROM 28TH STREET

News now merged into the Greater Newport News since the summer of 1958, and with a population of 184,786 estimated for Newport News and Hampton combined at that time, it does not require great imagination to envision a brilliant future for the Lower Peninsula. In addition, probably no city in the United States can boast such ample room for growth and expansion for probably generations ahead!

As early as 1952, before the consolidation of Newport News and Warwick into one giant city, the United States Census Bureau officially designated the three cities of Newport News, Hampton and Warwick as a "metropolitan area," which constituted the third largest metropolitan market in Virginia. Thus the entire modern background of Newport News is that of industry and world-wide commerce, and from the initial capitalizing of the Chesapeake and Ohio to development of most of the city's important industries the trend has been for the city to become ever more closely linked with other

parts of the United States and the rest of the world. Initially attracting Northern capital, the city gradually brought in leaders from many parts of Virginia to lend native genius and know-how to the great enterprises that had been begun. Then shipbuilding and shipping connected Newport News with the farthest reaches of the earth. And the friendly rivalry with the Norfolk-Portsmouth industrial community across the James serves but to create an ever more important Hampton Roads business and industrial center.

Figures now show that there are 43,000 men, women and children directly supported by Newport News shipyard operations. Commercial and defense operations have necessitated vast expansions costing \$10,000,000 or more within the last two years. In this same period Esso Standard Oil Company has established a petroleum terminal and "farm" of fourteen giant tanks with a combined capacity of more than 22,000,000 gallons. The company has introduced the latest improvements for bunkering ships and economizing on loading time. Standard's 1,150-foot pier is close to the Chesapeake and Ohio terminal area, so that vessels moored at Chesapeake and Ohio Piers 14 and 15 bunker at the same time they are loading their cargoes of coal. This arrangement was a definite "first" in pier loading techniques, and even as we go to press arrangements are under way for similar developments at the new Chesapeake and Ohio ore pier. Esso Standard's facilities provide for receiving bulk lots of gasoline, kerosene, solvents, jet fuels, bunker oil, diesel fuel and heating oil from ocean-going tankers, which are in turn distributed by tank trucks, railway tank cars, pipelines and barges. Another big development on the Lower Peninsula is the ore storage depot of the Union Ore Corporation, a subsidiary of Union Carbide Chemical Company. This depot, on a 360-acre site in what was formerly Warwick, is designed mainly as a storage place for manganese and chrome ore. This ore is brought in through the new Chesapeake and Ohio ore-handling pier, and is in turn redistributed to Union Carbide Chemicals plants as needed. In the very near future the company will attempt some ore processing at this site.

With an economy based upon shipping, as evidenced by the entry of 9,000 ships per year into Hampton Roads, only in recent years has the Lower Peninsula attracted dynamic land-centered industries to support the vast maritime facilities. A concerted effort has yielded results in this direction, with such organizations as the Peninsula Industrial Committee in Newport News and the Tidewater Virginia Development Council in Norfolk making Herculean struggles toward this end. The Peninsula group serves Newport News, Hampton and York County, while the younger Norfolk body strives to lure valued industry into Norfolk, Portsmouth, South Norfolk, Suffolk and the southside counties of Nansemond, Isle of Wight and Southampton, as well as those of Accomack, Northampton and Princess Anne. In recent years considerable concentrated support has been forthcoming

from the Virginia State Ports Authority, the State Department of Conservation and Development, the Hampton Roads Maritime Association, different chambers of commerce and trade groups and promotion departments of railroads and shipping groups.

So do interdependent communities and industries in a modern society gradually merge old rivalries into new economically and socially compatible forms. Still another example of this trend was the step taken in 1956 by the Virginia State Ports Authority in calling together a private industry committee to explore possibilities for improving port facilities. The group appointed a committee of consulting engineers to make a survey and recommendations, with the result that they urged an expenditure of \$76,000,000 on Hampton Roads port expansion in the coming ten years. The Ports Authority organization then suggested that the terminal-owning railroads serving the port join with the State of Virginia to launch the first stages of the plan. A bill has already been introduced in the General Assembly to authorize funds for studies as to how to implement the project as it has been envisioned.

The Port of Hampton Roads is now served by scheduled steamships such as those of the American Export Lines, with regular sailings to the Far East and the Mediterranean. Numerous other American flag lines bring their ships into Hampton Roads, and each month a large fleet of foreign vessels enters the harbor. The Federal Maritime Commission recently declared that a trade route was essential that would link Hampton Roads and other Chesapeake Bay ports to Europe by means of regular sailings of combination cargo-passenger vessels under the United States flag.

A tremendous influence in these industrial and maritime developments has been, of course, United States participation in two world wars. Even in the Spanish-American War, the first shot was fired on April 21, 1898, by the gunboat *Nashville*, built by the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, and in the summer of that year the port facilities of Newport News were taken over by the Federal Government, which established a port of embarkation here. But when the United States entered World War I, in 1917, Hampton Roads suddenly became a gateway of ocean traffic. The wharves and piers of New York were found inadequate. Railways in other parts of the nation were congested. Both Government and private shippers were seeking outlets. Newport News and Norfolk boasted eight trunk railways, an unsurpassed harbor and accessibility to coal and cotton.

Consequently, commerce in the area doubled, tripled and then quadrupled. The gray ships of the world appeared—harbor craft, ships taking on cargoes, ships just standing and waiting, and, above all, ships being created anew and sent to sail the seas and defend the land. Coal became the major export through this port. It was needed for fuel in war-torn Europe. Trains brought

it in vast quantities from the West Virginia fields, to be transferred to ships at Newport News, Seawell's Point and Lambert's Point. The year 1918 brought other projects. Ironically, the James River froze solid in the winter of 1917-1918. Freight piled up on the piers and shipping was paralyzed, and even battleships, working as icebreakers, could make little headway through those frozen waters. So bitter had been the weather that, even when pathways were cleared, the coal awaiting shipment on the piers had frozen and defied all efforts to load it onto the ships until steam pipes could be run through the cars to loosen the pieces.

As the rigors of war continued, coal shipments were more and more diverted to domestic ports to free the railroads, which were taxed to the limit and needed for other war work. During that period petroleum products were also among those shipped from Newport News, as well as iron and steel. Hampton Roads also shipped fruits and vegetables, as well as fish, oysters and clams—a major industry of the entire Tidewater Virginia area. Chilean nitrates figured increasingly as imports through Newport News at that critical period, when Norwegian, Swedish and Danish vessels brought these fertilizer materials into the United States at the insistence of the War Board to take the place of kainite, which had been previously used for the purpose but was cut off by the blockade of Germany.

Most important of all were the troops and direct military supplies that went out through Hampton Roads. At that time Norfolk, Portsmouth and Newport News shared the burdens and bounties of war. In Norfolk were all the trappings and trimmings of what was made the greatest Army base in the United States—concrete warehouses, miles of track, a rifle factory and huge piers. Near Seawell's Point grew up a great municipal terminal, with new water mains leading to the base. Workers came from throughout the United States to take part in all the activities of all the Hampton Roads municipalities, lavishly providing modern equipment. Giant cranes swung locomotives from piers onto the holds of transports as adroitly as though they were children's toys, delicately and softly placing them down to the last square inch in exactly the space allotted to them. A new world of twentieth-century industry was being born, with technical skills that had never been achieved before but were a harbinger of days and conditions to come.

Side by side with the shipbuilding and giant industrial operations that were developing, the discomforts and hardships of war were felt in the Hampton Roads area perhaps more keenly than in most places in America. The rapid development of wartime industries had stretched and strained the economy, with a resultant weakening of the fabric at critical points of stress. The stress was felt particularly in such activities as the furnishing of heat and food, which were widely neglected. Labor flowed rapidly from the farms and fields to the cities and industries where many times the

amount of money was waiting to be earned. Vegetables and farm products even rotted and spoiled on the farms because no one was available to harvest and sell them. At the same time, the vast influx of people from all parts of the United States had to be fed and provided for—most often from local supplies rather than from any shipped-in provisions from outside. In addition, the demand was heavy for shipment of all available food to the peoples of war-torn European countries, while wheat went uncut and potatoes undug because of the forced labor conditions at home. Newport News was an acute sufferer, probably because industrial advancement had reached its most modern and improved status here. The shortages increased to such an extent that on one occasion the people actually raided the coalyards for fuel—all this while President Woodrow Wilson and the Navy Department were making Hampton Roads the greatest naval base in the country.

But privations were suffered stoically in the interests of the common cause. Boys from all parts of the United States passed through the Peninsula, including what was then Warwick County, to the Newport News Port of Embarkation. Five Army camps were constructed—Camps Eustis, Morrison, Hill, Alexander and Stuart. Sturdy old oaks were razed. Aviation and balloon schools, heavy artillery and infantry installations, facilities for all branches of training, and miles and miles of barracks were established almost overnight. Men trained at Camp McClellan, in the beautiful foothills of the Blue Ridge, poured through the Newport News Port of Embarkation until June, 1918, having learned there the techniques of trench digging, grenade throwing, use of the bayonet and rifle shooting. After that time, more and more of them were trained fully at the military camps set up much nearer the port. At Camp Eustis was what was said to have been the only school of railway artillery in the world. It served also as a replacement training center for the Coast Artillery and later as a prisoner-of-war camp.

Meanwhile, waterways and reservoirs in the area were enlarged to three times their original capacity. Road-beds were put in perfect condition. Consumption of water supplied by the Light and Water Company of Warwick County went up from the 3,500,000-gallon-per-day figure of pre-war days to 8,000,000 gallons and higher in 1918 and 1919. To furnish this additional supply, water had to be pumped from Harwood's Mill Pond into Lee Hall Reservoir at the rate of 2,000,000 gallons daily. The Federal Government built Skiff's Creek Reservoir and Harwood's Mill Reservoir as extra basins to meet the sudden new demand. Although the demand was actually doubled at that period, not all the new facilities for water supply were needed. But had the war continued longer, all the facilities would have been needed. To protect the new installations, the State of Virginia detailed forty men of the Huntington Rifles of Newport News for reservoir guard

duty. They were later replaced by a company from the Forty-eighth Infantry Regiment.

Churches and schools suffered along with agriculture. But to the best of their ability the women of the community carried on these activities alone. Although opposed to war as conscientious objectors on religious grounds, the Mennonite Church helped assiduously to organize a War Suffering Relief fund and raised \$571,206.55 for use in aid of European war sufferers. This sect also did a great deal of valuable conservation work at home, and after the war many of its members volunteered for reconstruction services in European countries, serving without remuneration. When the Mennonite boys were drafted, they usually did farm work, which was perhaps more sorely needed than any other kind of activity. In the course of the conflict, 140 members donated personally \$3,034.57 for relief work, though obviously their group was not made up of the wealthy. For a long-continuing period after the war they continued to make garments for war orphans. The "widow's mite" of the Mennonites placed this group as a whole in the category of war heroes, though they were conscientious objectors.

Much relief work was performed, of course, by the Newport News Red Cross. In Newport News and the lower end of the Peninsula, \$1,000,000 worth of Liberty Bonds were sold; in Warwick County, \$500,000 worth of bonds. At the reservoirs, sales of Liberty Bonds totaled \$7,000. Vast additional sums were collected for Red Cross and Salvation Army relief work, and \$500,000 worth of War Savings Stamps were sold. Virginia hospitality opened the doors of many private homes to lonely and homesick service men, some of whom formed lasting ties of friendship with their "war families." Despite meatless and wheatless days, Newport News families shared what they were able to share.

Camp Eustis, founded in March, 1918, was redesignated Fort Eustis on January 10, 1923, after which it continued as a training station, operated in conjunction with Fort Monroe; and other lands on which camps were built were reclaimed in peacetime years and used for producing sizeable harvests of grain. The actual result of World War I was a notable increase in farm acreages in many parts of Virginia. As Captain John Smith had said three centuries earlier, "Heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation." Another later commentator said "there was no reason why Tidewater Virginia should not come to rival England in fertility." A third commentator, marveling at the wartime productivity, despite all adverse circumstances, was Commodore Matthew Fontaine Maury, whose comment was that "everything which can be cultivated in France, Germany or England may be grown here, equally as well, with other things besides."

By the summer of 1918 large numbers of United States soldiers were actually sailing aboard great transport ships for France. On June 15, 1918,

the 116th Regiment, including many Virginians from the Tidewater area, sailed from Hoboken, New Jersey, aboard the transport *Finland*. Arriving at St. Nazaire, these troops disembarked, moved in box cars labelled "*hommes—40, chevaux—8*" to a camp at Champlitte. This camp was situated next to a quiet sector in Alsace, where their arrival served to release more seasoned troops for active service on the fighting fronts. But soon there, too, hostile



(Courtesy Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

NEWPORT NEWS—VIEW OF NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING & DRY DOCK CO.

aircraft appeared in the skies and German raids and United States counter-raids became a part of the day's experiences. When, in late September, they were ordered to the front, autumn rains made their service in France all the muddier and more difficult. On September 26, 1918, General John J. Pershing launched the Meuse-Argonne offensive, which effected a salient in the German lines from Samogneux along the Meuse to Brioules and thence westward to the Argonne. The salient itself permitted the Germans to fire down from the heights of the Meuse upon the United States right flank, which was also exposed to counter-attack from the rear. Pershing's plan was to straighten out the line by an offensive east of the river.

The brunt of this attack fell upon the Twenty-ninth Division. In the offensive of October 8 the 116th and 115th Regiments, including great numbers of Tidewater Virginians, were associated with the French Eighteenth Regiment. From a key German post at Ornes, a few miles to the east, came a terrific German defense, and by nightfall their line running through the

northern outskirts of Bois de Consenvoye, three miles from Samogneux, was no longer a threat to Pershing's right flank. After days of bitter fighting, in which the Twenty-ninth Division had captured 2,148 prisoners and twenty-one pieces of artillery and had lost 6,159 men, it was relieved by the Seventy-ninth Division. Also participating in the Meuse-Argonne offensive were great numbers of draftees from Tidewater Virginia, many of whom were in the Eightieth Division and were subject to the constant threat of German submarine warfare as the great transports, heavily troop-laden, approached the shores of France.

On July 4, 1918, known as "Liberty Launching Day," three destroyers were launched at the Newport News shipyard—the *Thomas*, the *Haraden* and the *Abbot*. At Newport News Point was also established what was known as the Southern Shipyard, which built and repaired all types and sizes of ships and remained in operation until 1934. It was placed in operation in November, 1918, only a few days before the signing of the armistice on November 11.

After the war the Newport News Port of Embarkation naturally became a center for returning troops, who were cared for when wounded or ill and processed for separation from the Army when they were ready to resume civilian life. On April 13, 1919, the Victory Arch, spanning Twenty-fifth Street at West Avenue, was dedicated. This arch, built from funds raised by popular subscription in tribute to the returning soldiers, 441,146 of whom passed through it on their return bore the inscription, written by Robert G. Bickford: "Greetings with love to those who return—a triumph with tears to those who sleep." On August 22, 1919, Camp Stuart Hospital was closed and the final processing of returning troops took place at the port. Three days later, on August 25, Braxton-Perkins Post No. 25 of the American Legion was founded at Newport News.

Peace could now begin in earnest, as was evidenced in abandonment of the outmoded bicameral form of city government and adoption of a city manager-Council form of government on September 1, 1920. The first mayor under the new form was Philip W. Hiden, who was active in both city affairs and in business life until his death in October, 1936. In 1922 he established the Hiden Storage and Forwarding Company on the basis of twenty-five warehouses which he acquired from the United States Government, which offered them for sale. These warehouses were situated near the Morrison Railroad Station, and Mr. Hiden was the successful bidder for them. Much of its business was in tobacco storage, the main initial customer having been the old Tobacco Growers' Cooperative Association, consisting of farmers of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. From 1923 they combined to use the Hiden warehouse facilities, and after their association was discontinued in 1926 many of them individually continued as important customers. The Hiden business continued after the founder's death.

Like any fast-developing city, the government of Newport News had grown with the city, but often had not kept pace with industry in point of efficiency and organization. In the 1890s it is doubtful if a budget was ever made. Obligations simply came, and the city fathers met them with resources at hand, which included hope and good will. When the old bicameral form of government was adopted on May 20, 1903, the date on which the General Assembly approved an act creating it, the city treasury boasted only \$150,000 instead of the \$350,000 required for a sinking fund to meet the city's bond obligations. Prompt measures overcame that situation and managed to take care of the city's finances and problems for close to two decades. The old Common Council consisted of sixteen members; the Board of Alderman, of eight members. Four councilmen and two aldermen were elected from each of the four wards created by the legislative act setting up that form.

Repeated annexations and leaps of business growth had completely outmoded that form of government by the time of World War I. And one of the first steps taken after that war had been definitely left to the realm of memory was the founding of the city manager-Council government in 1920. By this plan five councilmen elected at large in turn elected their own Council president, who served *ex-officio* as mayor, and their Council vice president, who was to act as mayor *pro tempore* in case of the mayor's absence or disability. A city manager was then chosen to fill the executive function so necessary to efficient municipal government.

As Newport News returned from the swollen condition of war to normal commercial life, new business enterprises representing new kinds of business initiative helped to promote a more real and substantial growth. When Hilton Village was put up for sale by the United States Shipping Board in 1921, the Newport News Land Corporation became its purchaser; and on this site homes were erected and sold to private owners. By 1922 many residents started this suburban trend. It was on February 6, 1922, that a new and unusual development set in for the city—conclusion of the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments and the resultant scrapping of uncompleted naval vessels and cancellation of contracts for others. During this period the battleship *Iowa*, 31.8 per cent completed, was among the ships demolished at the Newport News Shipyard.

In 1923 the Shipyard entered upon a new field—water turbine construction. The first hydraulic turbines were put into the service of the Virginia Electric and Power Locks Station in Richmond. Peacetime shipping kept the yards busy, however, and by 1926 considerable new shipbuilding was under way. On March 20 of that year nine vessels were launched in a single day—a record never before equalled. The spectacle attracted 30,000 visitors, who saw these ships start their useful careers—the Merchants and Miners Liner

Dorchester, the yachts *Savarona*, *Josephine* and *Aras*, the dredge *Raymond*, one car float and three Chesapeake and Ohio Railway barges. Three new keels were laid on that same day.

There followed a time of business, civic and cultural expansion for the



(Courtesy Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

NEWPORT NEWS—NEW ESSO BUNKER OIL STATION, C. AND O. PIERS

city. Outstanding among the businesses founded at that period was the Horace E. Dodge Boat and Plane Corporation, which occupied 100 acres fronting on Hampton Roads east of the Municipal Boat Harbor at the foot of Marshall Avenue. This property had formerly been a part of Camp Stuart in World War I, spreading over more than 281 acres in all. The Camp Stuart site was originally desired by a Federal Government agency for use as a housing development for homes for Shipyard employees working on Navy contracts. The area was a part of Warwick County, which would have protested the Government plan, refraining only because of the urgency of the demand. The agency concerned requested Newport News to annex the area; and steps might have been taken in this direction except that an expenditure of \$300,000 was needed for public improvements in the area if the building plan could be made permissible at all. It was here that the Horace E. Dodge Company undertook to make speedboats and related products. The Dodge plant is now occupied by the Arkell Safety Bag Company. Another Newport

News business enterprise which grew to great importance was the Noland Company, which from 1922 was increasingly a leader in the plumbing business throughout the Southeast, and which in 1938 moved to new quarters at Twenty-sixth Street and Virginia Avenue.

All this vast development indicated the need of new civic and cultural efforts. Transportation and communications required improvement. The opening of the lift draw span known as the James River Bridge took place on November 17, 1928, amid great pomp and ceremony. The linking of Warwick County and Isle of Wight County four and one-half miles across the James was, indeed, a great event for Newport News, whose isolation because of its position at the tip of the Peninsula was rapidly ending. The bridge was said to be at that time the longest in the world. Three days later, on November 20, 1928, the Newport News radio station WNEW, started in 1923, adopted the call letters WGH, signifying "World's Greatest Harbor."

It seems that blessings seldom come unattended by misfortune, and the misfortune of that period for Newport News industry and social life was, of course, the Great Depression, during which business declined practically to a standstill, activity languished and confidence vanished away. Yet in that dark period many cultural establishments of note had their beginning. If the human family could not push the common economy forward, it could devote at least some measure of substance and energy to the creation of spiritual satisfactions.

Most notable of the creations was perhaps The Mariners' Museum, then in Warwick County, now Newport News. This museum, founded on June 2, 1930, by Archer M. Huntington, then principal owner of the Newport News Shipyard, was chartered by the Virginia State Legislature and took over about 1,000 acres of land in Warwick, fronting on the James River. The project was to include a library in addition to the museum itself, the whole to be surrounded by a park. The dedication was to "the Culture of the Sea and Its Tributaries, Its Conquest by Man, and Its Influence on Civilization." The completed park actually contained more than 700 acres, beautifully situated on the James, about six miles north of the Peninsula's tip, near the junction of Routes 60 and 17. The library includes approximately 32,000 volumes, and the museum's collection consists of ships' figureheads, prints and marine paintings, ship models, navigation instruments and other objects of marine interest. The museum is open, free of charge to the public, every day in the year, except Christmas—weekdays from 9 to 5 and Sundays from 2 to 5. The library is open weekdays.

Exhibits include everything pertaining to ships throughout the world, now and in the past, with even projections into the future when these are possible. Famous shipwrecks of all time, merchant sailing vessels of the nineteenth century, facts of the old whaling days, the trials of lighthouse



(Courtesy The Mariners' Museum)

NEWPORT NEWS—THE MARINERS' MUSEUM



(Courtesy The Mariners' Museum)

NEWPORT NEWS—THE MARINERS' MUSEUM

keeping, captains' desks of the past, early porcelain brought in from all parts of the world, old ship logs, maps and sea charts, ships of the Great Lakes—these are a few of the almost endless subjects of special exhibits over which any one loving or even marveling at the sea can linger and ponder for hours or days at a time. Old books with fore-edge paintings, visible only when the pages are fanned, but otherwise showing only a shiny gold surfacing, are included in the collections—tomes once valued highly for this peculiarly esoteric art. The story of ambergris is graphically told here—a substance taken from sick and thin whales, of disagreeable odor, but, paradoxically enough, used as a fixative for volatile oils and aromatic fluids in expensive perfumes. Marine sheet music is the subject of an extensive exhibit.

The story of Commodore Matthew Fontaine Maury, after whom the Commodore Maury Hotel in Norfolk is named, is recounted in graphic detail. Known as the "Pathfinder of the Seas," Maury was the first superintendent of the United States Naval Observatory, and was known throughout the world for his amazingly accurate charts of winds and currents, which over and over again provided sailing directions for those lost at sea and those seeking to find the lost-at-sea. Many nations honored him for his achievements in oceanography. His remarkable gifts, just as an example, were capable of locating the exact spot of the *San Francisco's* sinking in the disastrous gale in which she capsized in 1853. His "Wind and Current Charts" actually made seafaring a scientific and far safer undertaking than it had ever been before. They were an all-encompassing compilation, recording wind directions and the set of the currents, taking into account the conditions of barometer and thermometer and evaluating all phenomena observed by sailors. His aim in life was to aid mankind, never resting on past laurels. Through his efforts a system arose for planning daily weather reports for farmers. He lectured free of charge to expound the merits of his system. When the submarine telegraph cable was laid across the Atlantic, Cyrus Field's classic comment after reception of the first telegraphic message was: "Matthew Maury furnished the brains, England the money and I did the work."

When Maury became a commodore in the Virginia Navy during the War between the States, he was assigned the giant task of safeguarding the coast, harbor and river defense of the South. His genius helped convert the *Merrimac* into an ironclad ship whose battle with the *Monitor* is a special story of American accomplishment. He endangered his own life by sailing to England to gather information on torpedo defense. But when he discovered the use of electrical power for exploding marine torpedoes, the Confederacy had already fallen. An alien in his own land, he went to Mexico and there was appointed Director of the Imperial Observatory. There, too, the Government with which he worked was overthrown, whereupon Maury went to



NEWPORT NEWS—WAR MEMORIAL MUSEUM OF VIRGINIA



NEWPORT NEWS—WAR MEMORIAL MUSEUM OF VIRGINIA

England and started a school in which French, Norwegian and Danish officers learned from this Virginian the theories and practices of using electricity for submarine torpedo detonations. When finally he returned to America in 1868, he became professor of physics at Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, where, with General Lee, he devoted himself to education. So it was that Maury's major honors came from other lands, whereas in happier times of the nationhood of the United States he would have received similar honors at home. The King of Portugal conferred upon him the decoration of the Tower and Sword; Maximilian of Austria, a diamond pin; the King of Denmark, the Cross of the Order of Dannebrog; the Government of France, the decoration of the office of commander of the Legion of Honor; and the Czar of Russia, the decoration of knighthood in the Order of St. Anne. After his death the Czar presented a pearl and diamond brooch to Mrs. Maury in memory of her distinguished husband.

Another exhibit at The Mariners' Museum presents the spectacle of the famous battle of the ironclads, in which Maury had an important role. S. B. Besse, former model engineer of the museum, made a careful study of all records concerning the two vessels, then had three models made—one of the steam frigate *Merrimac* (frequently spelled *Merrimack*), one of ironclad *Virginia* as reconstructed from the hull of the *Merrimac*, and a third of the Ericsson-designed *Monitor*. The original *Merrimac* was built in the Boston Navy Yard in 1855, and her story is told elsewhere in this work.

Many models, prints, paintings and relics of this historic harbinger of the American-made machine age are on display at The Mariners' Museum. Other subjects portrayed there include the sailing of the *Savannah* across the Atlantic by means of steam power. Leaving on May 22, 1819, it arrived in Liverpool, England, twenty-seven days later, and subsequently visited Russia, Norway and Sweden before returning to the United States late in the year. Splendid displays of sea photography, spurred by continent-wide competitions, are included in the museum's exhibits.

Other cultural institutions established during the Great Depression included the Newport News Public Library, in its fine Georgian-style building on West Avenue, in 1929; the first Little Theater Group, in 1931; the Community Concert Association, organized by Mrs. L. C. Branch and others in 1930, and which presented its first concert, featuring Nelson Eddy, in 1931; and the presentation of the Operatic Society's first work, in 1935. In 1935 Mrs. Archer M. Huntington's giant equestrian statue, "Conquering the Wild," was completed in The Mariners' Museum Park, overlooking the dam and Lake Maury, as a memorial to Collis Potter Huntington, founder of the modern city of Newport News. Lake Maury itself, 167 acres in extent, was artificially created in 1932 by damming up the mouth of Waters Creek

in The Mariners' Museum Park and named after the great "Pathfinder of the Seas."

Another cultural institution, founded in its first form somewhat earlier, was the American Legion Museum, established as such in 1923 to display relics of World War I, but which became the War Memorial Museum of Virginia in 1941, when a new building was built in Huntington Park. It now displays relics, records and pictures of all the country's wars, including the best collection of posters of World Wars I and II in the United States. In 1954 the size of the building was doubled. The museum is operated by the City of Newport News under the direction of thirty-three trustees.

In 1932, following the opening of a new golf course at the James River Country Club, a Golf Museum was established as provided for by Archer M. Huntington. Exhibits were installed as made up from collections of John C. Campbell. A special wing of the Country Club was devoted to this museum.

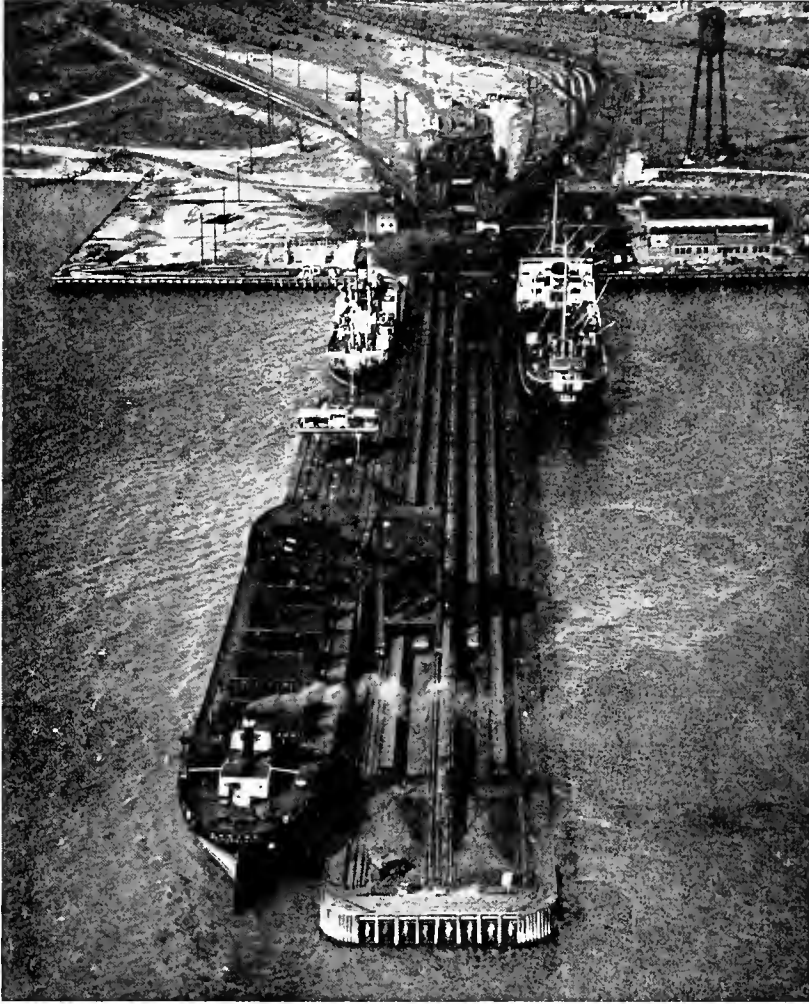
Through the remaining 1930s shipbuilding remained the foundation-stone of Newport News industry. In 1933 the Shipyard's model towing basin and Hydraulic Laboratory were set up in Warwick, opposite the buildings of The Mariners' Museum. It was on February 25 of that same year that the Shipyard launched the U.S.S. *Ranger* (CV-4), the first aircraft carrier so designed from the keel up, and so initiated a long and famous line of naval vessels of this type.

Disaster also struck in that year. A violent hurricane on August 23, 1933, caused \$3,000,000 damage. Newport News counted as a local tragedy, too, the burning on September 8, 1934, of the Ward Line's steamship *Morro Castle*, built by the Shipyard here in 1930. This horrible fire ushered in the era of complete fireproof construction of ships built here and elsewhere. In the following year, on November 8, 1934, the Chesapeake and Ohio grain elevator "B" was totally destroyed in one of the city's most spectacular fires.

By 1939 a new World War had started, and even before it started the event seemed imminent. Business increased again by leaps and bounds, as did the influx of population, with the result that huge defense housing developments were planned to meet the need. Ferguson Park consisted of 1,200 units on a tract near the James River Bridge entrance. Copeland Park had 3,195 units, and Newsome Park in the East End had 1,591 units. Copeland Park was later, in the 1950s, redeveloped by the Newport News-Hampton municipalities as a protected industrial site of 800 acres. Of this expanse, 340 acres were cleared, graded and made available for subdivision to suit space requirements, and the remainder was planned for housing relocation. This park area is adjacent to spur tracks of the Chesapeake and Ohio and a stone's throw from world-wide shipping facilities of Hampton Roads, as well as leading highways and airlines.

For Newport News the 1940s were a story of war and readjustment to

the armed peace that followed. Before the United States was yet involved in World War II, the Shipyard completed and delivered the United States Lines passenger steamship *America*, a 723-foot flagship of the Merchant Marine



(Courtesy Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

NEWPORT NEWS—COAL PIER OF C. & O. RAILWAY

and at that time, in 1940, the largest and finest ship constructed by an American shipyard. Shortly after the launching of that great ship, the Huntington family disposed of its interests in the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, which was reorganized as a stock company with securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange. On February 3, 1941, the North Carolina Shipbuilding Company was organized as a subsidiary, with

key officers provided by the local company. The plant erected on the Cape Fear River, below Wilmington, North Carolina, built a total of 243 emergency ships, beginning with the famous Liberty ships, through the years of World War II.

As the trend of events was becoming clearer with each passing week, despite all hopes to the contrary, the Huntington Rifles, a National Guard unit, was mobilized for service with the Army. At the same time Newport News industries were performing ever greater and greater feats of inventiveness and constructive genius. The Newport News Shipyard turned out fifteen of the eighteen turbine units, the most powerful hydro-electric units ever built, used to produce the Grand Coulee Dam power enterprise on the Columbia River for the Department of the Interior, which first produced power in March, 1941.

Not long after the United States Army had resumed jurisdiction over Fort Eustis in 1941, Newport News was shocked by the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7. The battleship *Pennsylvania*, originally built here, was damaged in dry dock, but subsequently was repaired to take an important role in World War II. By April 18, 1942, Hampton Roads was reactivated for war to such a degree that the aircraft carrier *Hornet*, built in Newport News, launched Jimmy Doolittle's sixteen planes for their historic surprise bombing of Tokyo.

Newport News was by this time once more a busy Port of Embarkation, now connected directly by railroad with the 1,700-acre Camp Patrick Henry, used as a port staging area. The Army had its headquarters at Newport News, where "The Fightingest Ship," the aircraft carrier *Essex*, was launched July 31, 1942—first of fourteen ships of her class, all of them built here, which were organized into a fast carrier task force that helped bring the war in the Pacific to a successful conclusion. On June 3, 1943, the Forty-fifth Division left the port for North Africa to prepare for "Operation Husky," as the assault on Sicily was called.

Meanwhile, as Newport News grew overnight from a city of 37,000 people to one of 100,000 for its wartime activity, the people were forced to suffer the hardships and scarcities of a distorted economy. In the interests of the general cause, these privations were accepted cheerfully, while 30,000 persons carried on their wartime work in the Shipyard alone, 1,600 of them women. On October 4, 1943, the Shipyard launched the aircraft carrier *Franklin*, nicknamed *Big Ben*, which on March 19, 1945, suffered heavily in Japanese bombing during the battle of Leyte Gulf, but survived after having become a raging inferno and returned later to New York by her own power.

The Port of Embarkation at Newport News handled a total of 1,687,000 persons during World War II—embarkees, debarkees and prisoners-of-war. When V-J Day came, on September 2, 1945, terminating the war, the business



(Photo by Holladay in Newport News Public Library)

NEWPORT NEWS—VICTORY ARCH, DEDICATED APRIL 13, 1919

of deactivating the city as an embarkation center began. By January 15, 1946, the rail and dock facilities, which had been federalized, were returned to the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway. Then, on February 1, Fort Eustis was taken over by the Chief of Transportation, and was established as an Army Service Force Training Center. Four years later, on August 21, 1950, it became the Transportation Training Command Center. Temporary construction was replaced with permanent facilities. It was also in February that the United States Navy transport *West Point*, into which the *America* had been converted for wartime service, arrived in New York after fourteen round-the-world voyages, then returned to Newport News for reconversion into her former status as a passenger liner.

Among its other official acts, the Newport News City Council authorized the preparation of an official history of the community in World War II—a history of industrial achievement and personal sacrifice, but one which was perhaps best expressed in the remembrance of those who did not return from the course of duty—more than 100 names of Newport News service men who had made the supreme sacrifice for their country and their cause:

ABRAMS, GROVER ALVIN, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Grover Abrams
(Also Northampton County)

ADAMS, FRANK LOGAN, S/Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Adell Dozier Adams, Thomson, Georgia

ADAMS, GRANVILLE L., JR., S/Sgt., A. Father, G. L. Adams

BALL, RALPH E., Flc, N.

BECKER, SIDNEY S., Lt., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Becker

BINDER, WILLIAM HICKEY, Pvt., M. Mother, Mrs. Rose Binder

BLANCHARD, ARTHUR E., JR., Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Henrietta Blanchard

BRIDGERS, LEWIS McMATH, Ens., N. Mother, Mrs. Henry E. Bridgers, Chicago, Illinois

BRITT, OSCAR W., T/4, A. Mother, Mrs. Sue C. Britt

BROWN, JESSE GARRETT, Pfc., M. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Paul E. Brown

CAMPBELL, LAWRENCE M. (*See Hampton City*)

CARNEY, FRANK H., StM2c, N. Wife, Mrs. Rosetta Carney

CARTER, HOWARD MOSS, Lt(jg), N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Carter, Rainelle, West Virginia

CHANDLER, LAWRENCE H., JR., 2nd Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. Ada G. C. Chandler

COLLINS, DAVID HARRISON, Lt(jg), N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Broadus Lee Collins

CRAFT, HUBERT A., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Mima P. Craft

CUNNINGHAM, EDWIN HARVIE, III, MoMM1c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Harvie Cunningham, Jr.

DANCY, ARTHUR W., T/5, A. Wife, Mrs. Geraldine Dancy

DAVIS, WILLIAM F., Pvt., A. Aunt, Mrs. Florence Ricker
EASTON, ROBERT LEE, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Myrtle Boardman Easton
EDWARDS, JOSEPH C., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Florence D. Edwards
EHMIG, HERMAN ANTON, JR. (*See Richmond City*)
ELDRIDGE, JAMES H., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Ethel B. Eldridge
(Also Loudoun County)
FALLEN, ROBERT F., N.
FISSEL, JOHN E., Capt., A.
FLANDERS, ROBERT EVANS, CFC, N. Wife, Mrs. Vivian Ward Flanders
FORESMAN, EDWARD VINCENT, Sgt., M. Mother, Mrs. A. K. Hammond
FULCHER, JOHN E., Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Fulcher
GARNER, SELWYN C., ARM3c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley S. Garner
GOLBERDING, DANIEL ANTHONY, 2nd Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. Ruth Golberding
(Also Hampton City)
GOODMAN, CLAUDE LAYTON, Lt. Comdr., N. Mother, Mrs. Mabel H. Goodman
GROSS, ADOLPH R., SF2c, N. Mother, Mrs. Edward Duncan, Baltimore,
Maryland
HALL, CECIL R., Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Elizabeth T. Hall
(Also Gloucester County)
HAMMERSTEN, HENRY L., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Maxine Hammersten
HARRINGTON, HENRY M., Ens.
HARRIS, CARSON MOSS, AS, N. Mother, Mrs. Gaye Simmons Harris
HASSELL, THOMAS TILLMAN, Lt. Comdr., N.(Ret.). Wife, Mrs. Dorothy
Gayle Hassell
HICKS, GEORGE S., N.
HIDEN, PHILIP WALLACE, 2nd Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. Martha W. Hiden
HINSON, DANIEL WEBSTER, MM2c., N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Curry Graham
Hinson
HITE, ROBIE COLUMBUS, JR., N. Mother, Mrs. Kate West Hite
(Also Dinwiddie County)
HOHL, HARRY W., JR., 1st Lt., A.
HUDGINS, WENDELL RHODES, S2c, N. Wife, Mrs. Virginia Lloyd Hudgins
(Also Mathews County)
HUMENIK, JOHN, Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Frances J. Humenik
JONES, HOYLE L., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Daisy B. Jones
LANGSTON, RAYMOND J., Pvt., A. Daughter, Miss Alice P. Langston
LEFFELL, HLYBERT, Cpl., M. Mother, Mrs. Cora L. Leffell
MCGHEE, ROY EUGENE, S/Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. Elizabeth S. McGhee
(Also Henry County)
MCGINNIS, H. C., Lt., A.
MACHADO, TARCISIO B., T/Sgt., A.

- MARSHALL, WALTER JOHNSON, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Mary Damewood Marshall
- MELAMED, ISAAC, Cpl., A.
- MEYER, CARL HEINZ, Pvt., M. Mother, Mrs. Ilse A. Meyer
(Also Warwick County)
- MITCHELL, GEORGE WILLARD, N.
- MORSE, FRANCIS JEROME, BM1c, N. Mother, Mrs. May Morse
- MORSE, NORMAN ROI, WT2c, N. Mother, Mrs. May Morse
- MURRAY, JAMES FRANCIS, Pfc., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph J. Murray
- MURRAY, PHILIP WILHELM, JR., T/5, A. Mother, Mrs. Ethel Murray
- NELMS, THOMAS E., Pvt., M. Father, James T. Nelms, Jr.
- NEWBERN, JOHN C., JR., Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Marie A. Newbern
- OGDEN, WILLIAM S., MM2c, N. Mother, Mrs. L. Ogden Keffer
- O'MALLEY, CHARLES W., SR., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Opal M. O'Malley
- PALMER, JAMES DICKERSON, Lt(jg), N. Brother, Maj. John W. Palmer
- PATTERSON, JAMES LINDSAY, JR., Mess Att.1c, N. Mother, Mrs. Betty Carney
- PERSON, JOE HERMAN, S2c, N. Mrs. Ethel Person
- PICKRELL, JOHN ALLEN, JR., N.
- POWELL, WALTER HENRY, Capt., A. Father, Walter M. Powell
- PRIVETTE, DAVIS F., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Willie E. Privette
- PROCTOR, ROLAND OLIVER, MM2c, N. Mother, Mrs. Ruby Oliver Proctor
- QUINTAL, GEORGE D., Pvt., M. Wife, Mrs. George D. Quintal
- RAMSAY, ALEXANDER W., PhM3c, N.
- REYNOLDS, JESSE F., Pfc., A.
- RIDDLE, CARL MICHAEL, Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Ina V. Scrogam Riddle
(Also Augusta County)
- SCHMIDT, JOHN MATHEW, S1c, N. Wife, Mrs. Pearl Mary Schmidt
- SHAW, OMER LEE, WT2c, N. Wife, Mrs. Corinne Margaret Shaw
- SHERRILL, JAMES E., S/Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Josephine M. Sherrill
- SICELOFF, ROBERT N., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Irene H. Siceloff
- SIGLER, V. E., Lt., A.
- SLAUGHTER, JESSE H., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Ruth M. Slaughter
- SMICK, ROBERT CAREY, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Anna Marie Smick, Baltimore, Maryland
- SMITH, CHARLES NORMAN, CMM, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. William Norman Smith
- SMITH, HERBERT G., JR., 1st Lt., M. Parents, Judge and Mrs. Herbert G. Smith
- SMITH, REGINALD V., FO, A. Father, Dempsey P. Smith
- STOKES, FRANK L., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Josephine Stokes
- STRANGE, ALTON ERNEST, S1c, N. Mother, Mrs. Emma J. Strange

TENCH, ROBERT HENRY, Pvt., A. Father, Charles L. Tench
 THEISS, CHARLES HENRY, Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Gladys P. Theiss
 TOWNSEND, VERNE, JR., Cpl., M.
 TUCKER, EARL MARTIN, StM1c, N. Mother, Mrs. Lillie Tucker
 TWILLEY, JAMES C., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Lola Twilley
 VADEN, ROBERT LEE, Pfc., A.
 VENABLE, HOGE CRALLE, JR. (*See Hampton City*)
 VICK, STANCIL WYLIE, MM1c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Elbert Vick
 VINCENT, SYDNEY ARCHIBALD, JR., Capt., A. Mother, Mrs. Gladys Cowen
 Vincent
 (Also York County)
 WARD, KARL H., Pvt., A.
 WATKINS, AUSTIN F., JR., 2nd Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. Phyllis M. Watkins
 WATKINS, EUGENE KEITH, 1st Lt., A. Sister, Mrs. Don R. Fischer
 WATSON, J. B., JR., Pfc., M. Mother, Mrs. Nettie Watson
 WEAVER, JOHN B., Sgt., A. Mother, Mrs. R. B. Weaver
 WEST, THOMAS SPOTSWOOD, Pvt., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Caleb D. West
 WESTON, BRUCE S., T/5, A.
 WINSTEAD, ARTHUR M., A.
 WOODFIN, PHILIP T., Capt., C. Wife, Mrs. Frances Woodfin
 WOODWARD, WOODSON W., 2nd Lt., A. Wife, Mrs. Virginia L. Woodward
 WRIGHT, THOMAS W., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Virginia L. Wright

Although the return of peace brought a notable decline in population, Newport News retained some of its wartime industrial advances. On the occasion of its golden anniversary in 1946, the city held appropriate ceremonies, including many parades and pageants, and published a commemorative volume, *Newport News' 325 Years*, pieced together from newspaper and magazine stories as written when the events were new and fresh.

Growth was not at an end, nor even a standstill, as was indicated by the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway's construction of a new \$5,200,000 coal pier. On April 18, 1949, the keel of the supercarrier *United States* was laid at Newport News, but eight days later the construction contract was cancelled by Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson. But in February, 1950, the building of the steamship *United States* began. In June, 1951, it was launched—the finest and fastest ship ever built in America. This ship crossed the ocean to Europe in 3 days, 10 hours and 40 minutes, and returned to New York on July 15, 1952, after a westbound voyage of 3 days, 12 hours and 12 minutes. Her average speed was 34 knots.

On July 14, 1951, the keel of the giant carrier *Forrestal* was laid at the yards of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, which was awarded millions of dollars' worth of Government contracts in the in-

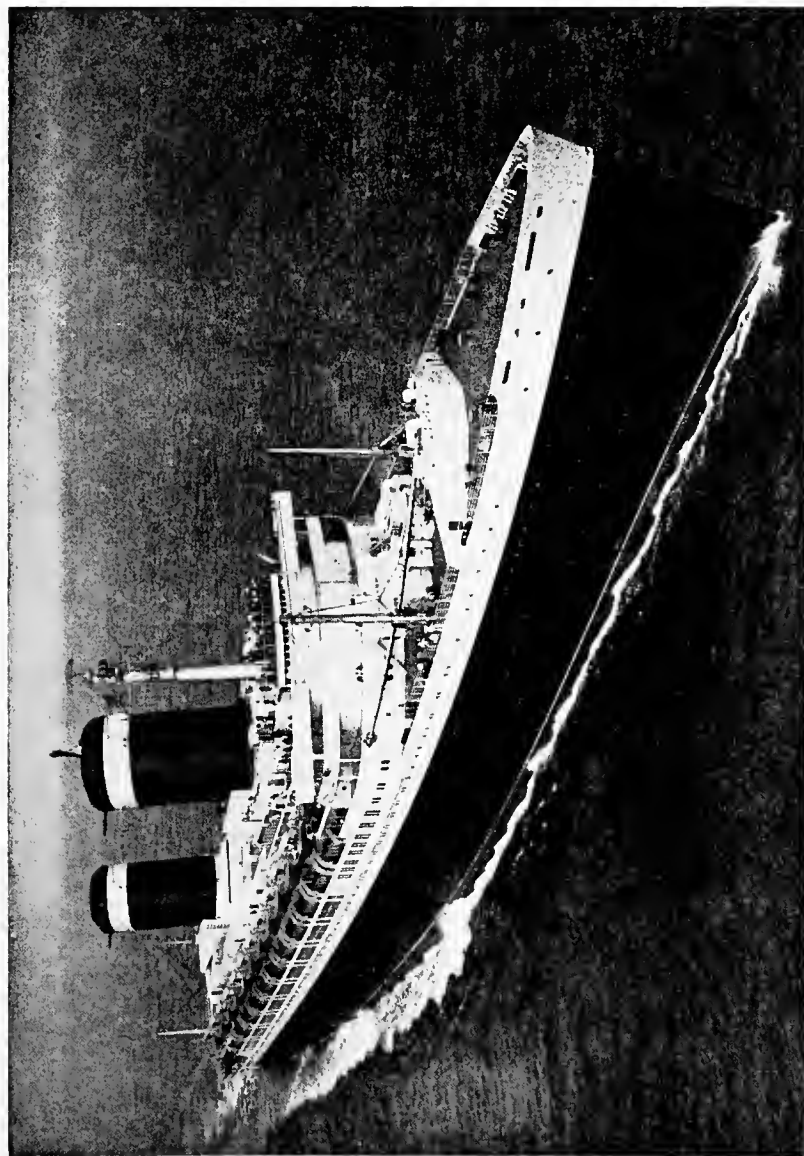
terests of preparedness for an uncertain future. The *Forrestal* was the first of the Navy's thousand-foot supercarriers. It was launched on December 11, 1954. In 1953 the Atomic Energy Commission announced that the Shipyard at Newport News was taking an important part in the Government's atomic-powered ships program. The keel of the first atomic-powered aircraft carrier, the *Enterprise*, was actually laid at the Shipyard on February 4, 1958.



(Courtesy Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

NEWPORT NEWS—CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO RAILWAY WATERFRONT FACILITIES

In the period following World War II many community improvements were effected, one of the most noteworthy having been the replacement of the Peninsula electric street railway cars by buses in 1946 and the subsequent removal of all trolley tracks. As early as April 1, 1945, the Citizens' Rapid Transit Company had been organized to take over local trolley and bus services for this purpose. The new building of the Whitaker Memorial Hospital for Negroes—a project dating back to 1912—was actually completed before the end of the war. Its dedication was an event of 1943. On March 26, 1945, the Newport News Public Safety Building, housing police offices and jail, was first occupied. The year 1946 brought into being two large municipal swimming pools. On February 1, 1947, the Naval Reserve Armory was dedicated at Essex Street and Warwick Road, and in that same year the Peninsula Airport Commission acquired a 924-acre tract at Camp



(Photo by Nixon)

(Courtesy Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

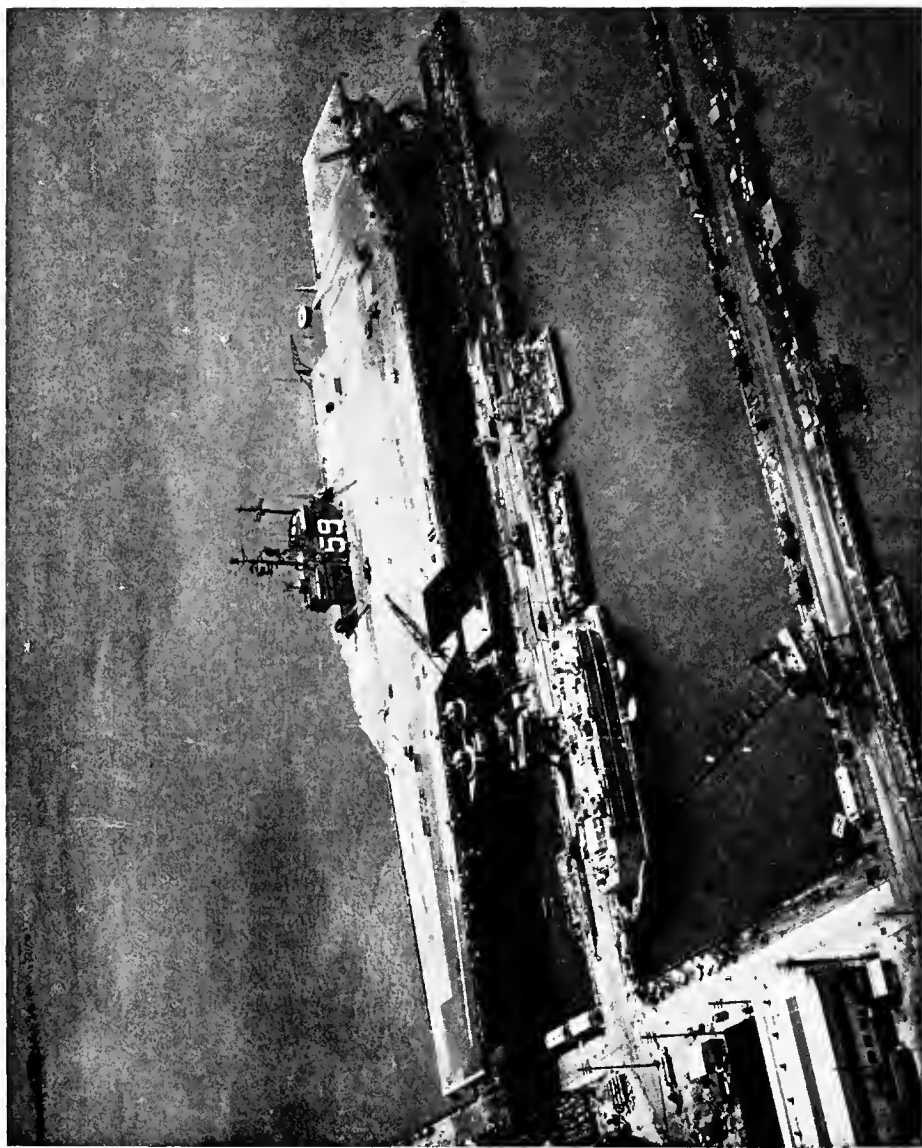
THE "S. S. UNITED STATES," BUILT BY THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING
AND DRY DOCK CO., NEWPORT NEWS; THE FASTEST
SHIP IN THE WORLD AND THE LARGEST IN THE UNITED STATES

Patrick Henry for use as a site for the proposed Peninsula Airport. Service at Patrick Henry Airport was started November 13, 1949, by Capital and Piedmont Airlines with DC-3 planes.

Also in 1947 the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway gained permission to build a new \$5,200,000 coal pier, and on May 27, 1955, the railway's \$8,000,000 ore pier No. 9, with a length of 711 feet, was commenced. In March, 1953, the railroad was completely dieselized. On May 2, 1957, came the city's great pageant of the landing of Captain Christopher Newport as a part of the 350th Anniversary observances of the founding of Virginia. At that time Christopher Newport Park was dedicated, and a large mural painting by Allan Jones, Jr., was unveiled in the Newport News Public Library, depicting the original landing. The story of civic improvement would not be complete without mention of the last crossing of Hampton Roads by ferryboat on November 1, 1957, as the new Hampton Roads Bridge-Tunnel connecting Old Point Comfort and Willoughby Spit took its place.

Perhaps the greatest improvement of all was not the formal erection of any building or industry, but the development of the Greater City of Newport News, which was long in the making but was definitely achieved in the summer of 1958. As early as January 1, 1945, Warwick County had adopted a county manager government and moved its headquarters from Lee Hall to Hilton Village, where both government and business buildings were erected. On July 16, 1952, Warwick County became a first-class city, with a population of 52,000. Talk had long been under way as to possible municipal mergers, greatest opposition coming from Hampton, which twice voted against consolidation, first in 1950 and again in 1956.

In May and June, 1955, citizens' committees were formed to explore the possibility of a three-way consolidation of cities embracing Newport News, Warwick and Hampton. The Tri-City Consolidation Bill actually won approval in the Virginia General Assembly on March 10, 1956, but Norfolk interests prevented approval of the popular name "City of Hampton Roads." A further rebuff to the three-way merger came when, on November 6, 1956, Hampton defeated the plan at the polls. Undaunted by that reversal, Newport News and Warwick prepared for a new poll which would leave Hampton out of the picture, and on July 16, 1957, they approved the formation of a single city along the James and extending to the river's mouth. In Newport News the vote was 4,398 to 873 for the merger; in Warwick, 3,939 to 3,253 in favor of it. On September 10, 1957, the voters elected that the name of the new and enlarged city should be Newport News. On March 3, 1958, Governor Almond signed the bill providing the new city charter. It was on July 1, 1958, that the expanded city became an actuality—a city of 64 square miles in area, third largest in Virginia, with a population of 120,418. The



(Courtesy U.S. Peninsular Ass'n of Commerce)

SUPER-CARRIER "FORRESTAL" BUILT BY THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING
AND DRY DOCK CO.; WORLD'S LARGEST WARSHIP

present city of Newport News takes in the area of the former County of Warwick, just as the present city of Hampton covers all of the former County of Elizabeth City.

Greater Newport News is more than a political expedient. It is a reality. Many local citizens now live in the former Warwick area and in Hampton, but commute to employment in the area originally known as Newport News. Utilities and industries serve the entire Peninsula in many instances from a common source, and all groups on the Peninsula together render world-wide commercial and business services. Newport News, including Warwick, is served by a number of fine banking institutions, among them the Bank of Hampton Roads, the Bank of Virginia, the Citizens Marine Jefferson Bank, the Crown Savings Bank, the First National Bank, the Bank of Warwick and the Warwick National Bank. An active factor in merger plans was the Negro problem as the ratio of this racial group moved up to 50 per cent of total population. But no actual evidence existed that the Negroes wished to take advantage of the shifting weight of population. Two of them actually served on the committee for consolidation, and others were leaders in the movement, although the ratio of their numbers with respect to the total population of the new city was only 35 per cent. All citizens together wished to see and help create an actual Greater City of Newport News, and took part together in the common effort. Today the Newport News Waterworks Commission system supplies filtered and chlorinated surface water to Hampton and part of the Navy Mine Depot as well as to the entire Newport News-Warwick area. Sewage is in charge of a common Hampton Roads Sanitation District. A Peninsula Industrial Committee and a Hampton-Warwick Regional Redevelopment and Housing Authority are further examples of a common Peninsula-wide cooperation.

And, of course, cultural life extends beyond all boundaries of a geographical nature, as is evidenced by a broad interchange in the religious sphere. Probably church life in the Newport News area was actually started by the Negroes in 1864. They erected a frame building in what corresponds to the 400 block in Twenty-eighth Street and named it the First Baptist Church of Newport News. The railroad now runs directly through this old site. They had a Sunday school in operation in 1867 there. In 1881, when many other church activities began to be in evidence, this same Negro congregation was worshipping at 2300 Jefferson Avenue, and by 1897 their church had moved to the 600 block of Twenty-fourth Street, although deterioration led to its being torn down some years ago.

The first white services on record were conducted March 15, 1881, by the Rev. Charles J. S. Mayo, an Episcopal minister, in an unfinished frame dormitory for Negro laborers on the railway roadbed, according to George C. Mason's "History of St. Paul's Church" in the *Newport News Daily Press*.

All denominations were included in those first services, and the same group afterward used boarding houses and warehouses before the Old Dominion Land Company remedied the situation. As early as March, 1881, the company took steps to build a "union chapel," which was to be non-denominational and for use by all creeds. By 1882 the chapel was in operation, and was actually serving to help several individual congregations of different faiths to make their own independent start.

The Baptists withdrew in 1883, and had their own separate church in 1884. By 1890 there were four independent churches. The original "union chapel" went to the Presbyterians in 1891. In 1893 the actual Union Chapel moved to a point just east of West Avenue on Twenty-seventh Street, eventually becoming a Sunday school annex to Trinity Lutheran Church. The Catholics were on their own from the beginning, meeting in homes at first and afterward founding St. Vincent's Church. They gained their start in 1881, too, with a mission of the Star of the Sea Church at Old Point Comfort, of which the Rev. Richard A. Drake was the first pastor. He commuted from Norfolk to serve here in the summer of 1890, and was succeeded in 1891 by the first resident pastor, the Rev. Charles E. Donahoe, who directed the new church building at Washington Avenue near Thirty-fourth Street.

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Chapter XXVII

Warrosquyoake Shire or Isle of Wight County

1634-1957

By *Floyd McKnight*

THE THIRD OF the eight original shires of 1634 (and last to be mentioned in these pages) was that of Warrosquyoake, which later abandoned its Indian name to be known as Isle of Wight after the appellation of an early plantation within its borders. Of all the Indian names in our area, this one seemed to give the Colonists most trouble, and its variants in original contemporary records are legion. It appeared as "Oriskeyek" on the Tindall map of 1608, and as "Warrascoyack" on John Smith's chart of 1612; the latter spelling may have been most nearly accurate but the form which we use in our title—while not possibly in most frequent usage—seems to be nowadays the most usually accepted.

The original boundaries of this county extended on the northwest to what was called at that time Lawne's Creek; on the northeast, on the James River as far as the plantation of Richard Hayes, formerly John Howard's; on the southeast to a series of creeks extending to the head of Pitt's Creek; and on the southwest, into the woods indefinitely. Since that time the boundaries have, of course, become much more definitely fixed.

In an earlier chapter we told of Capt. Christopher Lawne's Plantation here (1619), one of those represented in the first Assembly; of its early (1620) name change to Isle of Wight; of Bennett's Plantation and Basse's Choice and the Massacre of 1622; of the Fort here in 1623; of the first plantation parish existing before 1629, and the first Brick Church of 1632; and of the first monthly courts held here, also in 1632. We also gave our reasons for believing that Warrosquyoake was within the bounds of the original Corporation of Elizabeth City, although all authorities do not agree on that point.

One of Captain Christopher Lawne's early associates was Sir Richard Worsley, who came to Virginia in 1608 from the Isle of Wight, England. It is probable that the place of origin of Sir Richard and of others of the early settlers in the British Isle of Wight had much to do with the naming

of the plantation in Virginia. Some of those earliest emigrants from England came from Bristol aboard the "Bristol ships," famous in the commerce of their day. Lawne and Worsley, who were knight bannerets, had several associates, including Nathaniel Basse, Gentleman; John Hobson, Gentleman; and Anthony Olevan, Richard Wiseman, Robert Newland, Robert Gyner and William Willis. These leaders appeared in Jamestown on April 27, 1619, with a hundred settlers, and soon afterward took up their residence near the mouth of the creek which became Lawne's Creek, mentioned above, on the south side of the James River. This same creek, at first the common boundary with James City County, in 1652 became the dividing line between Isle of Wight and Surry Counties, when the latter was carved from James City. Captain Lawne was very active in the affairs of the new settlement, but lived only about a year after taking up his residence here. There was, in fact, a high mortality rate among those settlers, with the result that others had to become active to make up the deficiency caused by the deaths of these early leaders. A ruling governing the replacement of deceased heads of local affairs had to be made by the London Company, which was responsible for the dispatching of many of these early settlers to America, and this ruling was made on November 30, 1620. It was probably as a result of these early changes that in Warrosquyoake personal sympathies and antipathies gave way to an objective view which made it easier to adopt the new name of Isle of Wight. The name of Isle of Wight Plantation was actually in use at a very early stage, and the designation of Isle of Wight County was adopted in 1637, three years after the county was founded.

Warrosquyoake Creek, along which lay the plantation known as "Basse's Choice," belonging to Captain Nathaniel Basse, later became known as the Pagan River, so called because of the unconverted state of the natives.

It was in 1634 that the Colony of Virginia was divided into shires, of which there were eight. As previously noted, these shires were governed by sheriffs, sergeants, bailiffs and other officers following the general pattern of the English political system for counties, these different public officials being elected at general elections. This particular area was at that time established as Warrosquyoake Shire or County, which was then much larger than the present county of Isle of Wight, being bounded on the northwest by the original shire of James City, on the south by the North Carolina line, and on the southeast by Upper Norfolk or Nansemond County. The northeastern boundary of the Shire of Warrosquyoake was, naturally, the James River.

The first parish on record in Isle of Wight County, then Warrosquyoake County, was organized in 1629. In 1634, when the County of Warrosquyoake was officially created, the parish was coterminous with the county itself, and so remained for several years.

As more settlers came into the area, both the county and the parish were subdivided lengthwise, forming two parishes, known as Upper Parish and Lower Parish in the early stages of the division, and later as Warrosquyoake Parish and Newport Parish. The boundary line between the two parishes was given at that time as Pagan Creek which was called Pagan Point Creek. This name derived from the marshy point just north of the inner mouth of this creek, which emptied into Warrosquyoake Bay, often called the Lower Bay as distinct from the present Burwell's Bay, farther up the James River shore.

Although the building of the early churches in Isle of Wight County, which was adopted as the official name in 1637, is to a large degree shrouded in a mystery created by lack of adequate records, there is no question that church building was generally encouraged through the Established Church. For instance, an Act of February 1631/2, provided that "in all such places where any churches are wanting or decayed, the Inhabitants are tyed [tithed] to contribute towards the building of a church—the Commissioners together with the Mynisters, Church Wardens and Chiefe of the parish to appoynt both the most convenient place . . . and also to hire . . . any workeman and order such necessities as are requisite. This they are to effect before Christmas or else the sayd commissioners are to forfeit 50 [£50] in money."

One thing is certain—and that is the uncertainty of the establishment of the early churches in Isle of Wight County, about which many arguments have arisen among learned authorities who are interested in early church development in Virginia. Differences of as much as fifty years are still the subject of extensive disagreements and divisions of opinion. Of course, there are many reasons for these difficulties, chiefly among which is the inadequacy of existing records, many of the original documents having long since been lost or destroyed in the course of wars, fires and the ravages of time. Besides, these early churches were frequently rebuilt, sometimes within a fairly short period of years after the erection of the original edifice, with the result that references in the old records are sometimes of an enigmatic character, it being a matter of great doubt whether a specific record on occasion refers to an earlier or later version of a church, perhaps built on the same location and bearing the same name as an unknown predecessor.

Of course, the most famous church in the entire area—indeed, one of the outstanding colonial churches in the United States—is the Old Brick Church, outside of Smithfield. Although the date of its original construction is customarily placed at 1632, a controversy surrounds even this historic fact, some scholars claiming 1682 as a much more likely date.*

Early law and custom required the establishment of a glebe farm, and one was accordingly created two miles west of Smithfield. The ministers who

* See Note 46, Chapter IV, *supra*.

resided there are no longer on record, except the last of them, a Rev. Mr. Hubbard, who died in 1802 and was buried there. With the onset of revolutionary ideas, including all manner of opposition to the Established Church as a defender of an older political faith as well as a religious one, this property came into control of the county organization and was renamed the "Poor House." The indigent poor lived here under the care of a county board styled Overseers of the Poor.



(Jesse J. Scott Photo)

ISLE OF WIGHT—OLD BRICK CHURCH (1632-1682?)

The inconvenience of handling public affairs in a county divided by water—Pagan Creek—led to the erection of two court houses in 1654. The General Assembly ordered "that on account of the inconvenience occasioned by the partition of Isle of Wight County by Pagan Creek, there should be held a mo. Court in each of the 2 parishes, successively, and that the commissioners shall select the places." The site of court sessions in Lower Parish is not known; and in any event, the act was repealed in 1659. The division into two parishes had already come in 1643. Ferries provided the means of travel across Pagan Creek and its tributaries and branches. Originally in charge of the county commissioners, these ferry lines were taken out of their control and managed for a time by the General Assembly. From 1650 they were in the hands of the County Court. The ferries continued to furnish the major portion of water transportation within Isle of Wight County until 1750, when a system of bridges took their place. The bridges were privately owned and constructed, and tolls were charged for their

maintenance. Only later were they rented to the county, after which transfer only non-residents were required to pay tolls. In 1891 the bridges were sold outright to the county, and all tolls were abolished.

In 1750 the Court House of Isle of Wight County was definitely moved to Smithfield, and at that time three brick buildings were erected—a Court



(Jesse J. Scott Photo)

ISLE OF WIGHT—HISTORIC
ISLE OF WIGHT COURT HOUSE

House, a Clerk's Office and a Jail. All were located at Main and Pierce streets. In 1800 Major Francis Boykin, one of the county's distinguished citizens in his day, donated land for a new Court House, and actually erected some of the original buildings at his own expense. Public documents were for a brief period housed in a frame building, which earlier had been part of an old tavern. Afterward they were housed in a brick building, which was enlarged in 1822 and which still served as the Clerk's Office after the beginning of the twentieth century. A modern fireproof vault was installed to keep the records in 1892.

Tarleton's raid during the Revolutionary War had as one of its aims the capture or destruction of county papers at Smithfield, but the deputy clerk's wife, Mrs. Francis Young, had moved them for safe keeping while her husband was away from home, serving as an officer in the army. The "hair trunk" in which she hid them and buried them for safe keeping long remained a family heirloom after the Revolution. The records of Isle of Wight County, as a result of her patriotism and intelligence, remained under ground until after the surrender at Yorktown. During their interment they were slightly damaged by worms, but not irretrievably so.

In early times court, church and glebe were closely connected—a connection which only slowly vanished with changing times. When the separate courts for the two parts of the county were abandoned in 1659, separate parishes continued to exist. A church is mentioned in Lower Parish as early as 1638, but whether it was Old Brick Church or another seems to be a matter of speculation. The subsequent deed of John Vallentine, dated January 9, 1667, confirms to John Marshall a tract of land already deeded January 13, 1638, to Marshall by Vallentine's father. The plot concerned is described as "100 acres lying southerly on the Creek and northerly into the woods . . . and soe running downewards to the head of the Creek that leadeth to the then Church," with some additional area bounded on "the deep Swamp."

For the Upper Parish of Isle of Wight County, a church was built soon after the division into two parishes in 1643. No record of its construction has been found, however, although references to it exist in wills and other documents. It is mentioned, for instance, in the deed of James Day of London to William Webb of Isle of Wight, dated January 11, 1675, which referred to "the Old church yard," suggesting that the building was no longer there at that time. Other records hint that it was standing idle. The first Upper Parish Church on record seems to have been mentioned in the will of Robert Pitt, dated June 6, 1672, and proved one and one-half years later. That will bequeathed, as a gift from his deceased wife, Martha Pitt, "one pcell of land . . . that joyneth Uppon the north side of the land wch was Mr. John Swards for the length, And the breedth towards the chch . . . uppon which land my Executor is to bld. one howse . . . which said land and howseinge is to be for the releiffe of Poore Women."

It was also in 1672 that John Seward sold land identified as "The Levie Neck," because the commissioners met there to lay the levy, to William Bressie, a Quaker, who in 1679 gave it to the Quakers—in the terminology of the document sealing the transaction, to "the servts of God frequently called Quakers." The parcel of land involved was described as "feilds near the Creek side to worship and serve the liveing God in spiritt & truth, with ground sufficient for a Graveyard . . . bounded by four Corner Trees to be

planted, with a free egress and regress for the sd. people through any of sd. Bressie's land in any path that now leads to the House." Bressie's will also left tobacco "towards the maintaining and upholding of the meeting House of the people of God called Quakers . . . being at Levy Neck & for the care of the Poore."

As early as 1663 the Quakers were meeting in the house of William Garrett at Levy Neck. They were not sanctioned by Colonial law, however, and consequently were imprisoned by the authorities. The building of a Quaker Meeting House did not likely antedate Bressie's acquisition of the "Levy Neck" site in 1672. George Fox, leader of the Quaker movement, did not visit the area until that year—a fact which supports this conclusion.

Court house and church were connected even in the case of the unwanted Quakers. The early Isle of Wight County Court House is believed to have stood on the south bank of the present Mount Holly Creek, a mile west of Smithfield. In 1736, when settlers complained of the inconvenience of court facilities and a new Court House was built on the north side of the present Blackwater Bridge, four and one-half miles south of Zuni, the former Court House was discontinued. In that same year Henry Wiggs purchased the abandoned Court House for use as a Quaker Meeting House.

It is not clear exactly how the Quakers were finally ousted from the area. But when Isle of Wight County was divided in 1749, after which the Blackwater River marked the boundary with Southampton County, the new Isle of Wight County Court House of 1736 was left standing on the frontier of the older county's reduced area. A writ was obtained from Governor Gooch on May 11, 1749, adjourning Isle of Wight County Court "to the place called the Quaker Meeting House, formerly the old Court House," to which all county records were at the same time moved. One thing is certain: the Quakers did not return. And after the court took up its home in the new Court House in Smithfield in 1752, the old building fell into disuse.

It was in 1734 that the parishes were perceived to be too long and were subdivided at the Blackwater River, the lower parts of both becoming Newport Parish and the upper parts Nottoway Parish. The original Lower Parish had already come to be called Newport Parish, and Upper Parish was known as Warrosquyoake Parish. The part of Isle of Wight County which was cut off in 1749 to start Southampton County on its career was thus that portion which comprised Nottoway Parish. Then, in 1762, a further change in parish organization took place with erection of the territory south of the Nottoway River as St. Luke's Parish.

In a still earlier eighteenth century change in territorial extent, made in 1733, Isle of Wight County ceded the area southwest of the Meherrin River, then within its borders, to what was at that time Brunswick County, but later

was placed within Greensville County, formed in 1781. Southampton County attained its present limits in 1786, when entire southwestern tip of Nansemond County was added to Southampton. Thus, over a period of many decades, to suit for the most part the convenience of the populations involved, the so-called "southside" counties assumed their present shapes and sizes.

At the same time parish changes generally followed political changes and reorganizations, as the Established Church was still in power along with the Established Government—the Crown of England. The border of Newport Parish, for instance, became coterminous with the reduced Isle of Wight County itself. Church names sometimes shifted with these geographical boundary alterations, the Upper and Newport parish churches being identified as "the Church" and "the Brick Church" respectively, although after 1747 they were referred to as "the Bay Church" and "the Brick Church," then eventually as the Upper and Lower churches of Newport Parish. Between 1744 and 1747 both were repaired and their yards were railed in.

In the mid-eighteenth century the Bay Church was replaced by a large brick church which retained the same name. It was probably completed before 1760, being built on the lands of General Burwell. According to Bishop Meade, "About the year 1810, the estate came into other hands; the Church was pulled down and a kitchen built of the bricks; the sides and the backs of the pews were used to make stalls for a stable and divisions in a barn, which was struck by lightning and burned down. The bell of the church was exchanged in Richmond for a brandy still." The remains of both Bay churches were still evident in recent times amid somewhat dense trees and undergrowth.

Captain Hugh Campbell in 1692 gave 200 acres to support a reader for services for "the Inhabitants at Blackwater in Isle of Wight County," who though "Liveing att great Distances from any Churches or Chapels very Seldome have opportunity to bee att the publick worship of God." In 1724 a chapel went up at that site, being designated first of all the Lower Chapel of the enlarged Newport Parish. Then, in 1744, it was replaced by a more suitable frame chapel, the old one being sold at public auction. The new one was on land that had belonged to John and Nathan Pierce, and was therefore called "Pierce's Chapel." The second Lower Chapel was not used after the Revolution, being taken over at that period by the Christian Church of the South after having been occupied and used by that church's missionary preachers for a considerable period. It was burned down in 1827, "no doubt by the hands of an incendiary," as reported to the Episcopal Church Convention in that year by the Rev. W. G. H. Jones, a young missionary minister, who claimed it as still belonging to the parish. Bishop Meade, in mentioning the burning of this church, called it the Isle of Wight Chapel. A new Chris-

tian Church replaced the building in 1828. Known as the Antioch Church, it was afterward several times rebuilt.

The Chapel of Upper Parish was finished in 1726 at a site now fogged by unclear records. It was at the outset known as the Upper Chapel of Newport Parish. Later it was improved and enlarged. Each parish, Newport and Nottoway, in 1734 had "one church and two chapels, which are very inconvenient, both to the ministers and the people," according to the word of the *Statutes at Large*. This church, a small building on the north side of Route 611, three-eighths of a mile west of Nottoway Swamp and three and one-half miles east of Courtland, was taken over by the Methodists after the Revolution. The Methodists still occupy this same church site.

On William Blake's plantation, in 1731, the building of what was known as Outward Chapel began. It was completed in 1733, and is believed to be the same building as that mentioned in early Southampton County records under the name of Angelica Chapel, having been so renamed because of its location on Angelica Creek. Being situated beyond the Nottoway River, it fell into the new St. Luke's Parish when it was split off from Nottoway Parish in 1762.

Remains have been seen in recent times of a chapel at the east end of "Middle Seacock Bridge"—now only a few bricks in an old sandpit. Known as Seacock Chapel, it was probably not built before 1700. Its location was along the present State Route 614 between Berlin and Zuni. At the time when it was erected, the territory beyond the Blackwater River had most likely not yet been opened to settlement by white people.

In 1734 the vestry of Nottoway Parish chose a parish site which the parishioners found inconvenient and which was therefore an occasion of complaint. They complained early in the course of construction, but their petitions were rejected and the building went on. It is believed to have stood one mile southwest of Cary's Bridge over the Nottoway River on the north side of the road to Capron, which branches off from the old Jerusalem Plank Road near the present village of Sebrell. Descriptions give the location of this church as on the highway from Littleton Landing to Flowers's Church. Littleton Landing was the Nottoway River wharf near the old Bailey plantation of that name, adjacent to the present village of Littleton in the neighboring county of Sussex. The highway mentioned is believed to have been the one later named the Jerusalem Plank Road, now State Route 35 between Assamoosick Swamp and the Nottoway River. The church was somewhat later named the Oak Grove Church, was definitely Episcopal, and probably was of colonial origin. It disappeared from external view long ago, and though the site is not even any longer clear it is believed to have been one-quarter mile west of the present Applewhite Methodist Church.

Flowers' Church, or "Flowers's" Church, was probably cut off from

Nottoway Parish along with St. Luke's Parish in 1762, and at that time it became most likely the Parish Church of the new parish.

The Nottoway vestry built a new brick church at the fork of the Nottoway and Blackwater rivers, only two miles to the east of Nottoway Chapel, and probably intended it to supersede the old chapel on Nottoway Swamp, although little evidence other than that of common-sense assumption confirms this hypothesis. A new church on the same site, known as Oberry's Church, was probably completed in 1768—according to tradition, directly across the road from the parish glebe—one more evidence that it was the parish church. After the Revolution it was abandoned, then gradually torn down to provide building materials for neighborhood uses.

The origin and early history of Millfield Church, mentioned in different records, are not clear. It is believed to have been erected through the efforts of the Rev. Henry John Burges, according to Meade. It was situated at the head of Lightwood Swamp. Following the Revolutionary War, it was taken over by Baptists, probably about 1836, and in 1854 it was still standing. It was then replaced by a frame church on the opposite side of the road, which was in turn replaced by the present Millfield Baptist Church in 1902. The old colonial version of Millfield Church was a brick building, according to tradition, situated in the woods across the road from the present church.

Vick's Old Church stood on the north side of the county road, about one and one-quarter miles east of Newsoms and five miles north of the North Carolina line. It was built about 1768 as a chapel of ease for St. Luke's Parish, as the general belief has it, on land owned by Simon Vick. Like many other churches of the Established faith, it fell into disuse after the Revolutionary War, and eventually the Methodists took it over. More than a half-century ago it was finally abandoned, and a new building replaced it in Newsoms. The old chapel was a frame structure with brick underpinning. It was probably last used as a peanut barn before its ultimate decay. The site of Vick's Old Church, at the summit of a little hill, is still marked by a grove of ancient oaks.

A mile northeast of the present town of Sedley, now in Southampton County but originally in Isle of Wight, was the Old Quaker Meeting House of Black Creek Meeting. It was situated on the south side of what is now Route 611, just east of its intersection with Jericho School Road. In 1870 a new frame meeting house was erected on the same site, and the old building was at the time moved one-quarter mile westward along the south side of the highway. There it served until 1886 as a schoolhouse, but in that year was torn down. The second Black Creek Meeting House was replaced by the present Meeting House at Sedley in 1907.

At the eastern end of the county, standing in a neck of land between Brewer's Creek and Ragged Island Creek, was Terrascoe Neck Meeting

House. In 1657 this neck of land, with the Ragged Islands, was transferred from Nansemond County to Isle of Wight "for the greater conveniency" of the people.

The role of Isle of Wight County in Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 is, like many other facts of the past, unclear. But it is known that Colonel Joseph Bridger had to flee to Accomack, where Governor Berkeley was, for protection. Bacon had, of course, been successful to the point of burning Jamestown and driving the Governor out. But when the tide turned against Bacon, Colonel Bridger returned to Isle of Wight and was active in punishing that revolutionist's adherents after Bacon himself had died.

One exponent of Bacon's cause in this county was John Jennings, clerk of court. Though eventually sentenced to banishment from the colony, he was never actually banished, probably because he was old and broken down. The banishment decree was several times renewed or extended, but each time some reason arose for not carrying it into execution. Another Isle of Wight County man, John Marshall, who had participated in the rebellion, was made to beg pardon in court on bended knee for "scandalous words uttered before the commissioners." His recantation was subscribed by Ambrose Bennett, Richard Jordan, Richard Sharpe, Anthony Fulgham, James Bagnall, Edward Miller, John Davis and Richard Penny. The recantation read:

We the subscribed, having drawn up a paper in behalf of the inhabitants of Isle of Wight County as to the grievances of the said county, recant all the false and scandalous reflection upon Governor Sir William Berkeley, contained in a paper presented to the commissioners and promise never to be guilty again of the like mutinous and rebellious practices.

In addition to the fates of these Baconites, record also exists of one Colonel James Powell, of Berkeley's army, who was wounded in the knee. Three other royalists were John Pyland, John Hammond and Thomas Woodward.

Isle of Wight County participated in the early attempts to establish towns by law. The "Act for Co-habitation" of 1680, it will be recalled, provided for the establishment of a town in each of the twenty then-existing counties, and the one for Isle of Wight was to be at "Patesfield at the parting of Pagan Creek." This law fell under the royal veto, but like some of the other towns, Patesfield got its start anyway; the Act of 1691 "for Establishing Ports and Markets" in one place reads as follows: "At the mouth of Pagan Creek formerly laid out for a Town by the name of Paitesfield and paid for and houses built on it." The third town law, that of 1705 "for Establishing Ports and Boroughs" did not include one for Isle of Wight. The Acts of 1691 and 1705, like their predecessor, were not "assented to" by the Crown. The late George C. Mason said the Isle of Wight town later came to be called

Newport Town after the parish, and that its location is marked today by the village of Battery Park.

When the Revolutionary War came, Isle of Wight County bore her full share of responsibility. She gave written expressions of sympathy at an early period with the Port of Boston, long under embargo before a single gun was fired, and at one point sent a vessel of corn to Boston's aid. As of July 27, 1775, there is record of a George Purdie, a Smithfield merchant, who was accused of violating the orders of the Continental Association and was summoned to appear. Informed that he would be tarred and feathered, guilty or not guilty, he begged for protection. The Committee of Safety granted his plea, but only on condition that he would be found not guilty. Henry Pitt and Samuel Hunt were made managers of salt works in Isle of Wight and Nansemond counties in May, 1777, and Brewer Godwin was connected also with valuable salt stores, as was evidenced by a warrant issued to him by order of the Committee of Safety of Virginia on June 22, 1776. In November, 1776, Godwin was made sheriff of Isle of Wight County.

Names of soldiers serving in the Revolution from Isle of Wight have for the most part been lost with destruction of records and the ravages of time. Arnold destroyed records in Richmond, and Tarleton in this county, although Tarleton's effort to wipe out Smithfield's records was unsuccessful. Some of the soldiers who served with George Washington, however, are known to have been Colonel Josiah Parker, Major Francis Boykin, Captain James Johnson, General John S. Wills, Jesse Matthews, James Casey, Edward Ward, Robin Turner, Samuel McCoy, John Forrest, Henry Hill, Ben ("Whalebone") Jones and Moses Atkins (whose wife, Sarah, was allowed £3 annually during his absence). Tarleton, when raiding the county, tried to capture Colonel Josiah Parker, but only managed to destroy some of that gentleman's papers at his home, "Macclesfield," and to carry off slaves, cattle, horses and property, finally meeting reverses at Scott's Old Field (now Exchange), in Nansemond County and being driven back across Milner's Creek by militia.

Back in 1740 there were two tobacco warehouse locations in the county, one at Wainwright's and another at Warrosquyoake, and by 1742 two new ones were planned. Destruction of such properties during the Revolution was a severe blow to business operations here, but by 1783 local people petitioned for reestablishment of a tobacco warehouse at Warrosquyoake Bay.

When the second war against England was declared on June 11, 1811, several hundred Isle of Wight County citizens served the cause of the newly-established nation for the ensuing three years. Ten companies containing 500 enlisted men were mustered into service as the Twenty-ninth Regiment of Virginia Volunteers, with Joseph W. Ballard, of this county, as major in command. Only once was the Twenty-ninth called upon for

action; that was when the British tried to land at the "Rocks," on the James River. Captains David Dick and Charles Wrenn led their companies to the defense, pouring effective fire into them and driving them back to their vessels. Although the British man-of-war *Plantagenet* lay off the "Rocks" for several months and kept the Twenty-ninth busy watching its movements, there was only that one attempt to land. At other times during the War of 1812 there were few incursions within the boundaries of this county. In addition to Captains Dick and Wrenn, mentioned above, other captains of companies of the Twenty-ninth Regiment were William B. Moody, Richard Bidgood, Joseph Atkinson, James Atkinson, Simon Gwaltney, Robert Jordan, John Lawrence and Robert Tynes. Lieutenants who were prominent included Robert West, Joseph Godwin, John W. Eley, Josiah Holleman, Willis Morris, Exum Eley, George W. Driver and Joseph Hodsden, as well as David Dick and Charles Wrenn, who later were made captains. Ensigns whose names are still on record were Isaac Moody, Tristram Bunkley, George Wilson, Josiah Wrenn, Henry Applewhaite and Dawson Delk. In addition, Captain Hamilton Shield mustered a company of forty-eight men and put it into service on February 8, 1813, after which it served out its enlistment at Norfolk. Peter Jones was its lieutenant and Archibald Atkinson its ensign.

Such records show the persistence of notable family names of the area through the generations. In the Mexican War of 1848 the United States refused to receive most of the volunteers, and some enlisted elsewhere. James Davis enlisted in Captain Robert Scott's company in Richmond. Alfred H. Darden and Richard Parr enlisted in Mississippi in the regiment of Colonel Jefferson Davis, with whom they fought in several battles. Benjamin Gale enlisted in Captain J. P. Young's company in Portsmouth.

In the War between the States, the universal doctrine in Virginia was "State Sovereignty." In a ballot in Isle of Wight County, all 861 registered voters were in favor of secession, although the county was practically an anti-slavery county. Isle of Wight had been shaken by the Southampton County Insurrection of 1831, a forerunner of the later slavery debate, which brought its abolition. County records reveal many deeds of manumission, or voluntary liberation of slaves, and numerous old wills had in them similar clauses. When war came, the first troops stationed in the county were those in the brigade of General John C. Pemberton, composed of Ramseur's Artillery of North Carolina and the Third North Carolina Infantry, commanded by Colonel W. D. Pender. They remained for about a year until they were withdrawn in April, 1862. The first Federal troops to invade the county were of Colonel Dodge's New York regiment, which came in July, 1862, and penetrated as far as the Court House. There was slight action near Ducksville between a detachment of Southampton Cavalry and Spear's New York Cavalry, as a result of which a few horses were killed on both sides.

When Dodge's cavalry followed soon afterward, they made reconnaissance surveys as far as a point near Carroll's Bridge. The Confederates were worshipping in a local church at the time, but came out, fought, and took thirty-two Federal prisoners and twenty-six horses, also killing several men.

In January, 1864, a steamer was fired upon in the James River and the pilot and crew driven below deck and the vessel beached. It floated again with higher tide, however. The attackers, meanwhile, bore the message to Newport News, whereupon the gunboat *Smith Briggs* was immediately sent up the river to Smithfield with 150 men, who landed and started to make their way inland. They were met, however, at Scott's Factory, by Major Sturtevant, who had artillery and a small force of infantry and cavalry. In the skirmish which ensued, Lieutenant Giggett of North Carolina was killed. The Federal invaders retired to Smithfield to embark, but their vessel had gone and had not returned. Sturtevant was therefore able to attack them the following morning and force them to surrender as a group. While the fighting was under way, the *Smith Briggs* reappeared and attempted a rescue operation, but instead received a shot in her steamchest and was disabled. In that encounter the Confederate forces took 120 prisoners and supplies before the vessel was blown up.

It was also in 1864 that the Fifteenth Massachusetts Cavalry landed at Burwell's Bay, proceeding a short way toward Smithfield before they were met by Confederate forces. Firing on that occasion was only at long range, however, and the attackers returned to their vessel before any casualties occurred. Actually, a large body of Signal Corps men and scouts prevented Isle of Wight County from worse suffering during the War between the States. The burning of two bridges at Smithfield formed a "cul-de-sac" which attackers for the most part shunned as a danger-point.

The Spanish-American War was of brief duration, and was ended before many men of this county had enlisted. There was some doubt within the county as to the feasibility of a war on the issues involved, although a few joined the different commands. A. S. Johnson was a lieutenant in the Fourth U. S. Volunteer Infantry; George E. Morrison, a member of Company G, Sixth U. S. Cavalry, which took part in the battle of San Juan; and J. E. Tucker, O. M. Johnson, Robert Drewry, D. T. Crowley and John I. Clarke were in the Fourth Virginia Volunteer Infantry.

Two world wars subsequently made their full impression upon Isle of Wight County, although the area was sufficiently removed from the Port of Embarkation and the big cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth to escape some of the brunt of wartime conditions and pressures. In World War II, the following local men gave their lives in the service:

ALPHIN, MARVIN HILL, 1st Lt., A. Father, Leonard H. Alphin, Zuni

- BILLUPS, JAMES ROBERT, T/5, A. Wife, Mrs. Alice J. Billups, Windsor
(Also Southampton County)
- GATLING, LANGLEY TAYLOE, JR., Maj., A. Wife, Mrs. Helen Gunn Gatling,
Battery Park
- GRINNAN, DANIEL THOMAS, Capt., A. Father, Thomas H. Grinnan, Smith-
field
- HARRELL, ROSSIE, StM1c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. John Harrell, Carrollton
- HAVERTY, PATRICK H., JR., 2nd Lt., A. Father, Patrick H. Haverty, Sr.,
Smithfield
- HAWLEY, MAC POLLARD, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Frances L. Blatchford Haw-
ley, Windsor
- HOLLAND, RICHARD LEE, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Anna L. Darden Holland,
Windsor
- HOLLAND, SHIRLEY T., JR., Lt., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Shirley T. Holland,
Sr., Windsor
- JOHNSON, DONALD MILBY. (*See* Suffolk City)
- JOHNSON, JAMES HENRY, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Carrie Johnson, Carrsville
- MCGURIMAN, GEORGE, Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Judith A. McGuriman, Rescue
- POWELL, RAYMOND, Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Nora Powell, Benns Church
- RHODES, EDWARD B., Sgt., A.
- SALVAGE, JOHN WALTZ, Lt., N. Wife, Mrs. Betty Carter G. Salvage, Smith-
field
- TURNER, FRANKLIN T., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Mary L. Cox Turner, Walters

From the days of the old hundreds, corporations and shires, back in the early seventeenth century, Isle of Wight has followed the general political trends through many changes and vicissitudes. Since 1870 its political operations have proceeded under a Board of Supervisors. The first Board met in October, 1870, the three members having been James Thomas, William A. Womble and Edgar Rawles, each representing a township—the townships of Newport, Hardy and Windsor respectively. These townships of 1870 and 1875 are remembered today in the names of the magisterial districts.

The 1950 census revealed a population of 14,906 in Isle of Wight County. The two incorporated towns within its borders, whose population figures are nevertheless separately recorded, are Smithfield, with a population of 1,180, and Windsor, with 451 inhabitants. The county today has 127,000 acres of commercial forestland, as well as forests reserved for non-commercial public purposes. Leading timber types are loblolly pine, Virginia pine, short-leaf pine, cypress and other soft woods, although there is also an abundance of white and red oak, gum, yellow poplar and other hard woods. The county produces an annual growth of 33,926,000 board feet of lumber, and has an annual drain of 15,624,000 board feet.

Four railroads serve Isle of Wight County—the Seaboard Air Line, Norfolk and Western, Atlantic and Danville, and the Virginian. Leading industries and occupations are peanut raising, soybean cultivation, hog-raising, production of hams, bacons, sausages and lard; paper, turpentine, tall oil, keg staves, lumber, millwork, burnt shell lime, peanut grading and oyster



(Courtesy Va. Peninsula Ass'n of Commerce)

THE JAMES RIVER BRIDGE, APPROXIMATELY FIVE MILES LONG
CONNECTING WARWICK WITH ISLE OF WIGHT

packing. Battery Park and Rescue are shipping points for water freight, as well as harbors for fishing boats.

Tobacco was raised in the county throughout the colonial period, and levies remained payable in this commodity until 1759—in some instances, even to 1783. The 1820 census showed 2,925 persons engaged in agriculture in Isle of Wight County. By 1850 only forty-four pounds of tobacco were produced here. Replacing it were corn (315,699 bushels), sweet potatoes (89,713 bushels) and peas and beans (31,319 bushels). County farm property was valued at slightly less than \$1,000,000, with implements and

machinery at \$37,637. There was in 1850 a slave population of 3,395. By 1934 cattle raising showed a 25 per cent increase in a five-year period.

Control of the oyster industry is now in the hands of the State Commission of Fisheries and the State Health Commission, as are shellfish and fisheries generally.

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Chapter XXVIII

The Town of Smithfield

1752-1957

By *Floyd McKnight*

THERE IS AN old legend about the method by which Pocahontas saved Captain John Smith. Her father, intent upon Smith's condemnation, is said to have asked her why the white intruder should be saved.

"Because, dear father," the beautiful princess is supposed to have replied, "he is the only man who knows how to cure a ham."

The white settlers are believed by some to have learned how to cure hams from the Indians, who are said to have practiced this fine art upon choice cuts from the razorback hogs which roamed wild in the forests. These same white settlers of Smithfield are said then to have improved and perfected the art of the Indian, so that when eventually they were aided in the process, by use of the peanut to feed the hogs, they were able to produce vastly better cured hams and pork products than the Indians ever made. Captain Smith himself is said to have seen the Indians smoking venison in a forest to preserve it for the winter; and perhaps even he had so improved upon the process that Pocahontas held his achievement in high esteem on this account.

In any event, whether this particular Pocahontas story be fact or legend, the production of what are frequently described as the world's best hams is centered in the peanut belt of Virginia and North Carolina. The sides, shoulders and jowls are cut from the carcasses of Tidewater Virginia's famous peanut-fed hogs, and the curing, treating, smoking and processing done in this region of Virginia are all of vastly superior quality.

The interest in hogs in this section of Virginia goes back to the very beginning of the Colony. Hog Island is just beyond Lawne's Creek in Surry County, and appeared on Smith's map of 1612; it is said to have been so named because the settlers kept their hogs penned there. The first William Byrd of Westover wrote a recipe for cooking hams in his Bible (c. 1674), and William Gooch, Lieutenant Governor from 1727 to 1749, sent hams as presents to the Bishop of Norwich (his brother), the Bishop of London and others. The Rev. James Blair—first president of the College of William and Mary, and Commissary of the Bishop of London—in 1729 sent his superior

"six Virginia hams" whose value he evidently did not realize; he wrote "I hope such a trifle will be suffered to pass at the Custom house; for if they pay duty, it will be more than they are worth." An admission such as no Tidewater Virginian would agree to today!

But important as hams and peanuts have since become, the economic basis of Smithfield a century earlier was not ham, but tobacco—a famous industry in this region from the very start of the colonization of Virginia by white men. There is said to have been a tobacco warehouse on the site of Smithfield 120 years before its establishment as a town. The settlement became an early port for the export of tobacco, which constituted one of the Virginia Colony's economic mainstays in the first period of its existence. The earliest beginnings of the tobacco trade date so far back as to defy identification or even reasonably accurate conjecture. A visitor of the year 1585, named Thomas Hariot, who familiarized himself with the Virginia-North Carolina area of the American continent, wrote enthusiastically of this agricultural product, then still unknown in Europe.

"There is an herbe," wrote Mr. Hariot, "which is sowed apart by itselfe, and is called by the inhabitants Appowoc . . . this Appowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them that they thinke theyr gods are marvelously delighted therewith."

Such enthusiastic appraisals of this American herb seem strange, indeed, in a period when the same product is widely thought of in relation to its possible role in lung cancer, and smoking is considered by many a habit that were better forgotten. But there is no question that tobacco constituted a primary source of trade in that earliest period of Virginia history.

The office of tobacco inspector is known to have existed from a very early time. When the corporations replaced the earlier political divisions known as hundreds, and the Virginia Company became all-powerful, one of the earliest Acts of the Assembly in 1619 was the provision for appointment of four tobacco inspectors—two by the Cape-Merchant, who was a representative of the Virginia Company, and two by the people of the Corporation. Throughout all phases of evolution of the Virginia Colony, including the numerous political forms from military dictatorship to Cromwell democracy, tobacco played its important and distinctive role.

One of the districts in which tobacco was extensively raised was Isle of Wight County. Tax levies and tithes were payable in tobacco until at least 1759, probably even until after the conclusion of the Revolutionary War in 1783. Methods of raising this highly-prized herb were a subject of great interest, much of which took the form of adverse criticism of the agricultural methods employed. One commentator is said to have written that a Virginian never thought of "reinstating or manuring his land with economy"

until he could "find no more new land to exhaust." This type of criticism of American agricultural methods persisted into the early years of the nineteenth century, when an Englishman named Strickland wrote of Virginia as being in a state of decline for this very reason. His opinions were expressed in an article entitled "Agriculture in America."

Whatever is the justice of these continuing criticisms of agricultural methods, there seems to have been some truth in the contention that the quality of tobacco in this entire region was not of the best. This lack of quality is said to have affected the entire monetary system of the region, which in Colonial days was based upon the value of tobacco. In those times, contracts were written and payments were made for work, as old records show, in terms of pounds of tobacco. In regions where the quality of tobacco was such that it did not bring a good price, people making purchases had to pay more pounds of tobacco for the items they were buying with this old-time currency. Probably one-quarter of the nineteenth century had passed before a definite trend toward improvement set in—notably with creation of a State Agricultural Society, founded specifically to let planters know the seriousness of the problem and to seek methods of remedying it.

The foregoing account of the development of tobacco is given at this juncture, not because of the present importance of tobacco as an industry here, but as an indication of the transitional state of Smithfield's economy. In more recent times, as everyone knows, the curing of hams has constituted Smithfield's most active and notable industry. By the early years of the nineteenth century the preparation of hams had reached an advanced stage. It is said that corn was used as late as 1836 in Smithfield and Isle of Wight County mainly to feed livestock. The value of the 1850 corn crop was placed at \$184,920. The development of the peanut, with peanut vines for a forage crop, did not take place until later. The commercial value of the peanut dates from about 1870. Of course, peanut-fed hogs are known to produce a much richer type of cured ham—the type of ham for which Virginia, and particularly the town of Smithfield, are now famous.

The importance of Smithfield hams and Isle of Wight bacon may be conjectured from the fact that they were used not only locally, but were shipped far and wide at an early date. Evidences of the tremendous business that arose in these meat products are to be found throughout this region. Many old-time Smithfield houses are built over deep brick cellars, obviously adapted to the storage of lard, ham, bacon and other such staple household products. These items of food could sometimes be stored for long periods, and their treatment in curing and preparation was such as to make them often more valuable after a considerable storage period than when they were fresh from the curing process.

Before the advent of railroads locally, this meat commerce reached out

thirty to forty miles in all directions and into nearby counties. There is evidence that it would have become vastly greater if it had been possible to obtain sufficient numbers of hogs for its development. Thousands of these animals were driven on foot from Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina to supply the immense trade that developed, not only on a limited scale, but



(Jesse J. Scott Photo)

SMITHFIELD—MODERN MEAT PACKING PLANT IN CITY
NOTED FOR SMITHFIELD HAMS

extending up and down the Atlantic coast and to the West Indies. In exchange for Virginia hams, bacon and related products, the West Indies furnished much-needed coffee, sugar and rum. Up and down the length of the Smithfield waterfront are to be seen to this day the remains of old wharves, silently but surely attesting to export trade in Colonial times and later—a trade which extended into nearby counties, as indicated, and along coastwise routes from Maine to Florida and the West Indies. Also exported were pipe staves for sugar hogsheads, hoop poles, and numerous vegetables, including peas.

Frequently, in Colonial times, both English and Dutch bottoms were used for shipping Smithfield products to these far-flung areas, but locally-built ships were also employed for this purpose. Rewards were given for achievements in shipbuilding through action of the General Assembly of Virginia, showing that the value of building a domestic merchant marine was thoroughly recognized by the ruling powers of Colonial Virginia.

It was in 1667 that four Dutch vessels came up the river and destroyed

twenty ships used in the Virginia trade, plying out of ports of the Southside counties, notably Isle of Wight County. Such indications gave ample evidence of the extent of the trade of that time and of its recognized value, as well as of a certain type of Colonial trade war which had reached substantial proportions.

One of the products of this region which naturally has great historical importance is corn, the production of which the white settlers of earliest Colonial times learned from the Indians. Not only did considerable trading in this essential product develop between the newcomers and those older Americans, but the Virginia Government considered corn to be so important that it did everything possible to encourage its cultivation. Certain early laws required the production of at least two acres of corn per laborer from every plantation owner, and severe penalties attached to any failure to carry out this requirement. The Assembly never interfered with the price of corn, attempting only to encourage its production.

Only once did it temporarily forbid the exportation of corn, and that was at a time when a shortage was feared; but when the emergency was discovered a short time later to have been largely of fanciful origin, not based upon accurate calculation, the prohibition was quickly removed. The so-called "Winchester Measure," which is known even today, had its origin back in 1630, when it was fixed by law to constitute officially a barrel of corn. The amount included in this officially constituted barrel was five bushels.

These are a few of the ways in which this community was important long before Smithfield as such was formally created by law in 1752. The Act of Establishment says that "representation having been made to the General Assembly that Arthur Smith, of Isle of Wight County, having laid out a portion of his land on Pagan Creek into streets and lots" and "that the location being healthy and open to trade and navigation . . . the said parcel of land lately belonging to the said Arthur Smith be, and is, hereby established a town to be called by the name of Smithfield."

The Act then continued:

And whereas, it is expedient that trustees be appointed to lay off and regulate the streets and settle the bounds of the town, be it enacted, therefore, that from and after the passing of this Act, Robert Burwell, Arthur Smith, William Hodsden, James Baker, James Dunlop, James Arthur and Joseph Bridger be appointed trustees for the said town . . . "Be it further enacted that it shall not be lawful for any person whatever to build, or cause to be erected, any wooden chimney, and if such wooden chimney be built, it shall be the duty of the sheriff to tear down the same and demolish.

Throughout all Tidewater Virginia great trouble attended the fancied economy of erecting wooden chimneys, which caused fires that were some-

times disastrous and devastating. Throughout that entire epoch it was with considerable difficulty that the authorities were able to impress people with the danger of this regrettable practice, which was brought to an end only after numerous destructive lessons of experience.

The original Smithfield town survey was made by Jordan Thomas, who was county surveyor of Isle of Wight County at that time. The corporate limits of the town of Smithfield extended westward along Main Street as far as an old brick culvert built under the street at Southall's old drug store.



(Jesse J. Scott Photo)

SMITHFIELD—COURT HOUSE BUILT IN 1749

This limit was extended in 1856 to the foot of the hill at the brick culvert adjoining the lands of Merritt Womble and A. G. Spratley. In 1902 the town limits were extended still farther.

Smithfield lies on an elevation of land about 25 feet above Pagan Creek, on the creek's southern side, at a point where it converges with Cypress Creek to form the Pagan River. The town is about five miles from the James River, fifteen miles from Hampton Roads, eighty miles southeast-by-east from Richmond and 204 miles from Washington, D. C. It lies on what, for the Tidewater area, may be considered high table-land, dipping in every direction as the roads extending from it pass over high ridges. The town is generally regarded as healthful, comfortable and satisfactory for business operations. It has excellent and easy communications with nearby places. Many of the newer roads follow earlier routes, which in turn often followed paths laid out by the Indians. Even some of the bridges forming an extensive

modern network of river crossings can trace their locations to those older routes established by the white man's predecessors on this continent, although naturally they did not have an engineering science capable of producing today's fine bridges and roads.

Smithfield lies on the old Norfolk-Richmond stage line, and in times when stagecoaches were extensively used as a means of transportation this town was a center for changing horses and furnishing new relays and teams. Back in 1748 there were two ferry lines across the Pagan and Cypress creeks respectively, on which the fare was 4 pence ($6\frac{1}{4}$ cents) for a person, a vehicle and a horse. A system of tolls continued as a means of financing these communications systems until bridges finally replaced the older ferry lines.

In 1750, even before Smithfield was yet a town, the Court House of Isle of Wight County was moved to this community. Three brick buildings were built at that time at Main and Pierce Streets—the Court House, the Clerk's Office, and the Jail. Across Main Street from the Court House was a square known as the Court House Green, which was used on Court days for conveyances of all kinds, as well as for gatherings of little clusters of people to discuss their private and public affairs. From the stone steps of the little brick Clerk's Office, auctioneers of that earlier day sold slaves, and also hired them and sold other property.

In 1800 Major Francis Boykin donated land for a new Court House. This land was given to the County for this purpose, and Major Boykin personally financed the erection of several buildings. The public documents of the county remained for a short period in an old frame building, which later became a part of a tavern and so served until after the beginning of the twentieth century. These documents were later housed in a brick building, which was enlarged in 1822 and which was still serving as the Clerk's Office after the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1892 a modern fireproof vault was installed in this building to assure the safety of the records.

Smithfield, like other Tidewater Virginia and Southern communities, learned unpleasant lessons as to the vulnerability of public documents, many of which were destroyed in city after city in the Revolutionary War and again the War between the States—not to mention at all the numerous disastrous fires which wiped out records and buildings alike at different periods of history throughout the country, without benefit of war or an enemy bent upon arson.

It is known that General Tarleton's raid in the Revolutionary War aimed at the destruction of Isle of Wight County's records in Smithfield. His aim would have been successful except for the patriotic action of the deputy clerk's wife, who had moved these documents from the clerk's office, while her husband, Francis Young, was in the service with his regiment. This heroic-

mindful woman buried a box and an old "hair trunk" for safe keeping. The trunk long remained a family heirloom. The records of Isle of Wight County, which she had thus removed from their storage place in Smithfield, remained buried until after the British surrender at Yorktown and the close of the Revolutionary War. When finally removed from their wartime burial place, they were found to be somewhat damaged by the depredations of worms, but otherwise in an excellent state of preservation. They were then duly restored to their proper place in the County Clerk's Office in Smithfield.

When war once again endangered the Smithfield area, the records were moved to Greenville County in May, 1862, then to Brunswick. Only after their safety was again assured were they returned to Smithfield to be replaced in the Clerk's Office. The County Clerk of Isle of Wight County was at that time M. P. Young. A Negro, Randolph Booth, who worked with Mr. Young, was in the woods four days with these records at the time of their removal. This same Negro remained continually loyal to his master, whom he served until after the beginning of the twentieth century. He was one of the last of the "old school" Negroes in this region.

The old jail, built in 1804, was torn down in 1902 and replaced by a modern fireproof building. Further improvements at that period included the remodeling of the Court House in 1903 and the installation of a new fireproof vault in the Clerk's Office, whose exterior remained, however, for the most part unchanged.

One of Smithfield's oldest buildings, the Masonic Hall, has been continuously used since 1789. It is next to the oldest Masonic Hall in all Virginia, the one in Richmond antedating it by only three years.

Smithfield also has a venerable business history. One of its earliest business establishments was that of E. M. Todd & Co., founded in 1787. Old invoices show trading in hams as far back as 1779, when they were shipped to St. Eustasius in the West Indies, being furnished locally by Mallory Todd, of Smithfield. At the present time Smithfield ships tens of thousands of cured hams annually, only the hog supply holding these figures lower than they might otherwise be. The Todd firm's operations are now centered in Richmond.

Another prominent industry here, as in other parts of Tidewater Virginia, is peanut processing. Both the Gwaltney-Bunkley Peanut Company and the Smithfield Peanut Company are known throughout the world for their fine products.

Smithfield is a community which harmoniously blends the old and the new, maintaining many customs reminiscent of early Colonial times, side by side with innovations which are adopted for practical present-day convenience. Many visitors remember its beautiful trees and the spacious porches adorning its older homes, often very close to the street, suggesting the warm hospitality

of the earlier builders—an attribute which unfortunately threatens to vanish like a dream from modern life. The old wharves at the waterfront have left their remains as a link with times gone by, and many other landmarks demonstrate how an earlier and a later period can exist side by side in the same moment of time.

Back in 1840 Smithfield was a town of ten stores and fewer than 1,000 inhabitants. By the end of the nineteenth century the number of stores had



(Jesse J. Scott Photo)

SMITHFIELD—PLANT NO. 2, P. D. GWALTNEY, JR. & CO., INC.

multiplied, there having been twenty general stores, six grocery and fresh meat stores, two drug stores, a hotel, a saddlery shop, three undertaking establishments, a cabinetmaking firm and several other minor business enterprises. There were also oyster dealers who carried on the region's extensive oyster and fishery business, more details of which are to be found in Chapter XXVII, "Isle of Wight County." Vessels were also built locally to serve and help develop business. Another prominent mainstay in economic life was lumber. Shortly after the beginning of the twentieth century there were four lumber firms in Smithfield, as well as a planing mill.

At about that time the modern public utilities began to take shape. The Home Telephone Company started with a single telephone—that of the Gwaltney-Bunkley Peanut Company. The system now serves Smithfield and Franklin, and ramifies throughout the area and has nationwide and worldwide links. The Smithfield Water Company was founded in 1901.

Present leading companies in Smithfield include P. D. Gwaltney, Jr., and

Company, headed by Howard W. Gwaltney, for years Smithfield's mayor. Products supplied by this organization include Smithfield hams, sausages, fresh pork and provisions. The present company of this name was incorporated in 1870. The Smithfield Ham and Products Company, Inc., headed by J. C. Sprigg, Jr., as president, also produces Smithfield hams and bacon, as well as varieties of canned meats in both glass and tin packaging. The Smithfield Packing Company, Inc., makers of pork products—fresh, cured and manufactured—is headed by J. W. Luter, Jr., president of the company, as well as executive vice president of the Historic St. Luke's Restoration. At the time of the general 1957 celebration, another firm, new to Smithfield, was establishing international headquarters at "Smithfield Farms," near this community—namely, V. H. Monette and Company, headed by Valmore H. Monette.

The development of Smithfield's religious life closely followed that of all Tidewater Virginia, being linked in its early stages with the fortunes of the Established Church of England. As religious and political revolution emerged side by side in Virginia and the American Colonies, as well as abroad, resulting eventually in the political independence of the Colonies and the Church's disestablishment, men's religious faith was shattered but to be re-strengthened and renewed in unexpected ways. It was unquestionably the intention of the early leaders of the Established Church in America to propagate the faith, not only among the white settlers, but among the Indians.

From the outset the Church encountered an unavoidable preoccupation with the tremendously difficult problems attendant upon colonization. As the Revolution approached the Church was not at all helped by the harsh policies of its parent Church of England across the seas, which too often followed a political line which had its supporters also on this side of the ocean. The Church suffered, too, from a scarcity of good ministers, who when they were available found themselves unattracted by the poor salaries offered in Virginia. And to top off these many difficulties, the head of the Established Church in Virginia, the Bishop of London, was 3,000 miles away.

Despite all obstacles, there is no question that the early leaders of the Established Church in America were in a large number of instances dedicated personalities; otherwise there never could have arisen that remarkable series of old church buildings, erected ten or twelve miles apart, extending all the way from Norfolk to the Appomattox River. These churches, built with obvious wisdom and forethought, as well as necessary frugality, were in themselves a monument to the piety of those leaders of the Established Church and to the wisdom displayed in the London Company and the Virginia House of Burgesses.

A classic instance in point is to be found near Smithfield in the Old Brick Church, the very positioning of which showed considerable thought and wisdom. This famous old church was placed five miles from the river settlements,

five miles from a church in neighboring Nansemond County, and five miles from two wide and deep streams which would have cut it off from any church in the Upper Parish. It was also built on the main road from the settlement on Lawne's Creek to the settlements in Upper Norfolk. The Old Brick Church was started in 1632, according to the usual stories of its founding, by Joseph Bridger, father of Colonel Joseph Bridger who served on the King's Council for the Colony of Virginia, and who died in 1682 and was buried on his farm, "White Marsh," three miles from the church. His grave was marked by a marble slab, which was removed at a later period and deposited in the church.

This Old Brick Church was reshungled about 1737, and again in 1838, both times with good cypress shingles. The bricks used in its construction were of the best clay, sealed with mortar made of well-burnt oyster shell lime and building sand, both of local origin. The mortar used in its construction is said to be almost as hard as flint and vastly superior to similar mortar products used in more recent structures.

The Old Brick Church is said to be the oldest structure of its kind in America which is still encased in its original walls. These walls, if they could tell stories, would perhaps speak of Tarleton's Troopers lying in the shade of nearby trees, bent upon attack, or of Virginia militiamen in the war of 1812 or of Confederates of 1861 camping in this same shade, as well as of political speeches made here, of love duets and famous old barbecues in adjoining groves. The Old Brick Church was actually little used from the start of the Revolution until the 1830s, because the general disfavor in which the Established Church came to be held during that period alienated those who had been its original staunch supporters.

Actually situated in Isle of Wight County, outside Smithfield on Route 10, this famous old church is none the less considered a Smithfield landmark. Of noble Gothic lines, with buttressed walls and massive tower, it is situated just northwest of the intersection of the James River Bridge road with United States Route 10, at Benn's Church Post Office, so named for the modern Methodist Church situated on the opposite side of the bridge highway.

If the church was truly built in 1632, it is unquestionably the oldest Protestant church in the United States and the earliest structure of any kind of English origin which is still standing in this country. Students of American antiquities have in some instances expressed serious doubts, however, as to the authenticity of the year 1632, claimed by many as the date of the church's erection. This school of thought claims 1682 as the more likely date, insisting that some in their zeal misread a dubious digit as "3" instead of "8"—a very possible error in consideration of the ravages of centuries and weather. These adherents of a later date of founding say also that even the brick containing this date could have been made prior to the building itself, perhaps marking the beginning rather than the completion of the structure.

The argument is advanced that most churches of the earlier period were cruder in form and concept; but others point, in opposition, to the massive brick tower of the Jamestown church—all that remains of the structure begun in 1639.

Many other points in argument pro and con as to the date of erection of the Old Brick Church have been advanced. One such point is that the builder, named in some works as Colonel Joseph Bridger, was born in 1628 and would therefore have been only four years old when the church was built. But his father, said to have been Captain Joseph Bridger, is then given credit for the church's construction: To which argument the opponents counter that the father's name was actually Samuel and that he was not known to have come at all to Virginia. Boddie's *Seventeenth Century Isle of Wight* finds little evidence that the Bridgers were in Isle of Wight County before 1657.

Similar arguments with respect to the role of the Driver family in the church's construction seem to lead to no firm conclusion. Major evidence for this family's participation rests upon the initials, "C. D." and "T. D.," carved in bricks in the right-hand front quoins of the church tower, near the top, at its southwest corner. These initials are supposed to stand for Charles and Thomas Driver. A strong tradition persists, further, in the Driver family that some of its early members were brought by Colonel Joseph Bridger to Isle of Wight County to build the Old Brick Church. But the Drivers, like the Bridgers, seem to have come at a later period, first appearing in the county in 1657.

Once the conflicting forces of logic assail each other regarding historical "facts," whether the question be the existence of Shakespeare or the authenticity of the signature on the house that Jack built, more and more "facts" are marshalled as evidence on this side or that while the truth of the matter recedes into an ever more fading background. But these arguments and bickerings seem themselves to fade into the background when one contemplates the actual church in its ancient dignity and strength and reflects upon the known vicissitudes through which it has passed in the intervening years between whatever the year of its establishment may have been and the also ever-shifting present moment.

The actual renaming of the original Old Brick Church came in 1828—a time of recent enough date for the facts to be on record. Each great war was usually followed by a period of religious inactivity, during which periods the churches languished for want of repairs. And neither the War of 1812 nor the Old Brick Church was an exception. When recovery set in about 1825, a young deacon, the Rev. W. G. H. Jones, began to interest himself in the religious life, holding missionary services in the Old Brick Church. In his day the fashion prevailed of giving saints' names to old colonial churches, and the Rev. Mr. Jones fell into line with the popular trend. He initiated and

led the movement to rename the old church St. Luke's, although no official vestry action nor special consecration service ever validated the change. Students contend that no historical basis other than that mentioned exists for naming this church St. Luke's, and that the name is not properly applied. Actually, the nineteenth-century parish vestry book refers to the church as "the Old Brick Church" or "the Old Isle of Wight Church," not as "St. Luke's"—a name which was only revived at the time of the restoration effort in 1889.

It was in that year that the Rev. David Barr, rector of Christ Church, became intensely interested in a restoration program. When Christ Church was built in 1832, the Old Brick Church was left to decay, the vestry ordering only sufficient effective measures to protect it from intruders. Some accounts lead one to wonder how effective the measures were. In any event, after a half-century of neglect, the roof fell in one stormy night in 1886, carrying down with it a large portion of the east gable.

This emergency led to action on the part of the Rev. David Barr, who resigned as rector of Christ Church to engage in a fund-raising project on behalf of the Old Brick Church. For years he continued his efforts as a collector of money for his project, on which sufficient progress was made that services could be held in the church building by 1890, although the restoration was not completed until 1894. Mr. Barr's removal to Washington, D. C., necessitated his leaving the task in the hands of the Rev. F. G. Scott and the vestry of the church in Smithfield. One of the vestrymen who was especially devoted to the work was R. S. Thomas, long active in the restoration movement. At that period bricks broken when the roof collapsed were replaced by 2,000 bricks from Jamestown's last colonial church ruin. A new chancel-rail was made from wood from the framework of the fallen roof. The gifts made during the progress of the work included a superb stained glass window in the chancel, which was presented by Queen Victoria of England. But St. Luke's did not resume its status as the parish church of Newport Parish, although occasional services still were held within its walls. Maintenance was turned over to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, which managed on the basis of voluntary contributions. Old trees and boxwood still adorned the churchyard.

The most recent restoration of St. Luke's required five years of concentrated work and effort. Henry Mason Day, a native of Smithfield, was described as the "guiding star" of the project, which he lived to see finished. His death occurred at his home in New York in July, 1957, less than two months after the rededication of the church which he did so much to restore to its seventeenth-century appearance. At the rededication ceremonies he deliberately chose the least desirable place on the speaker's stand, and except

for thanking others for their help said simply but few words: "This is the happiest day of my life. I'm so happy I can't say another word."

On that occasion the original St. Luke's Bible was displayed in the center of the altar, on a brocaded cushion—the 1629 first Cambridge edition of the King James Version, which was used in the church until 1777, when it was put aside as a precious relic by William Hodsden, then a vestryman, who feared that the Revolutionary fervor of the period might lead to the Book's loss or desecration. For five generations it was in the Hodsden family's possession, then was given back to the church by Katherine Heath Pinner Hodsden and Bruce Hodsden Gray as a memorial to Robert Edmund Hodsden. The American draw-type communion table, dating from about 1640, was spread with a "fair linen cloth," according to the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer; and on it stood a massive pair of James I brass pricket candlesticks, the altar cross and brass vases of brilliant red gladioli. The clergy at that rededication service used the two seventeenth-century American oak armchairs at each side of the altar table.

Perhaps the spiritual keynote of St. Luke's was best struck by the Right Rev. William A. Brown, retired Bishop of the Diocese of Southern Virginia, who chose the theme of "the continuity of the Christian Church." He said in part:

Despite the errors and irregularities that have been committed by Christians throughout the centuries, the fact remains that the strong thread of truth has always survived. It is that truth that has worked even in the darkest times for the betterment of mankind. It was responsible for the Magna Charta, the basis of our freedom. It was also responsible for the gathering together of the early Virginia settlers on July 30, 1619, when they met in the choir of the Jamestown church and set up the principles of self-government on this continent.

Captain Christopher Lawne, one of that assembly, lived not far from this church that stands out prominently as the very ideal of what Christian principles mean to this great republic of ours. It is not only a place of worship standing in a lovely setting miraculously preserved from destruction, it is not only the 'last gasp of the Gothic,' on these American shores, but it is a symbol of those teachings that have dignified humanity.

The delightsomeness of this spot will continue to impress those who come here. It will become a shrine where thousands will rededicate themselves to the glorious teachings that have made us the great and wonderful people that we are. It is a priceless link with the past. Today comes out of yesterday; tomorrow is in the womb of today.

At the time of rededication, St. Luke's was not the only "tourist attraction" in Smithfield and Isle of Wight County. The "Old Court House" in Smithfield is considered by some architectural authorities to be the finest colonial court-

house still standing in Virginia. Built about 1750, it served the purpose implied in its name until 1800, when the county seat was moved to Isle of Wight Court House. Like many other colonial buildings, it reflects the influence of Sir Christopher Wren. In 1955 the exterior brick wall of the rounded courtroom was restored. The style of this rounded section, which forms one end of the building and is topped by a plain conical tower—or,



(Jesse J. Scott Photo)

SMITHFIELD—RESIDENTIAL SCENE

to be more correct, semi-conical to correspond with the semi-circular form below,—was consulted by architects from Williamsburg in constructiong similar rooms in the Capitol.

Around the corner from this ancient courthouse is "The Grove," recently restored home of Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. A. E. S. Stephens. This house was originally built in 1780 by Thomas Pierce on land which ran down to the wharf on the river. Its 18-inch brick walls, classical porches, fan lights and handsome stairwell are of particular interest. Down Main Street is Sykes' Inn, dating back to the 1750s, and which in 1926 was restored to its former use by Mrs. D. W. Sykes.

The old Todd House, known as "The Hill," was built about 1770 by Captain Mallory Todd, who came to Smithfield from Bermuda at that time and put up the main part of this Georgian house. The structure housed what was the original Smithfield ham industry. Near the house today is still

to be seen the foundation of the old smokehouse. The original furniture and portraits are on display at "The Hill," which is presently owned by the Rev. William Brayshaw, who has his library in the basement. Members of the Todd family lived here until 1953.

Other houses of notable antiquity which were on display in connection with the Jamestown Festival in 1957 included the Barrett House, now used as an office building. It was erected in 1752, the year of Smithfield's founding. In 1851 it was acquired by Robert F. Barrett, whose grandson, Frederick M. Barrett II, restored it in 1954 and 1955. Across Church Street from the Barrett House is the Benjamin P. Chapman Memorial Library.

An old legend has it that a treasure was hidden in the mantel of the Wilson-Morrison House, another of Smithfield's very old residences. The present owners, Mr. and Mrs. George W. Mumford, thought that they might find some sign of the hoard when they were restoring the structure in recent years, but no trace of any riches appeared. If there at all, the treasure is well concealed. A wholly unconcealed treasure, however, is the grandfather clock, which has occupied its special niche above the circular "hanging" staircase since 1790 and still keeps almost perfect time.

Four and one-half miles north of Smithfield is Fort Boykin, situated on a bluff 45 feet above the James River. There was a fort here as early as 1623, although the massive earthworks now to be seen, in the shape of a seven-pointed star, were erected during the War between the States. Two huge cannons, of the type displayed at the Jamestown celebration, were placed here in 1957. But for the most part the fort is now famous for its beautiful gardens and flowers, installed by Miss Elizabeth Jordan and her family. The first formal gardens in Virginia are to be found at nearby Shoal Bay, overlooking the widest part of the James. The owner of these gardens, W. J. Newton, has been told that one giant boxwood plant is 275 years old. Among these ancient plants the Baker family took refuge when the old house, no longer standing, was shelled by federal gunboats during the War between the States. At Shoal Bay is an unrestored house built of bricks from the Old Bay Church, on Burwell's Bay, five miles from Smithfield.

The present Town of Smithfield is thus a remarkable combination of old and new, of ancient landmarks and modern industries, although even the leading industry—Smithfield hams—retains an ancient flavor in a world of change and kaleidoscopic transience. Of course, the curing of hams has altered, too, with the introduction of new machinery and methods; but consumers of Smithfield hams still obtain their favorite products here simply because an ancient wisdom of ham curing has been retained in the local industry. Bacon, sausage and lard are other leading products in this picturesque old town, which still had a population of only 1,180 in the 1950 census.

Perhaps a look from outside, taken at the time of the 1957 celebration,

best portrays Smithfield. Eleven members of the British Goodwill Mission to the 350th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown spent ninety minutes in Smithfield on April 2, 1957, and found St. Luke's Churchyard reminiscent of their own English countryside. The Right Hon. Viscount Hailsham, Minister of Education and leader of the mission, called the church "a little gem." Remarking that the great cathedrals belong mainly to the European continental religious tradition, he commented that "we in England pride ourselves on our parish churches." He compared St. Luke's to the Essex churches from which its builders had probably derived inspiration, and said that it was built in the style of his own Sussex house, which had been erected in 1602.

Lord Hailsham commented on the same day in Williamsburg that the American Revolution had been good for both America and England. "Neither of our peoples could have fulfilled their destiny," he commented, "if we had remained together . . . The soul and independency of Britain were saved in the War of Independence no less than of America." He added that after 200 years it was becoming increasingly difficult to discern who became independent of whom in 1783 and who gained the most by independence. He concluded that, had there been no revolution, the heart of the British Empire might well be in New York, with the capital most likely in Williamsburg.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, said Lord Hailsham, the United States was receiving the exiled and dispossessed of all nations, and "within a century and a half they had built up the wealthiest, most powerful, most highly organized community the world has ever seen."

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Chapter XXIX

The County of Southampton

1749-1957

By *Floyd McKnight*

THAT AREA OF Tidewater Virginia which now constitutes Southampton County was, prior to 1749, a part of Isle of Wight County, one of the eight original shires created in 1634. Before the partition actually took place, it was unquestionably a continuing subject of discussion over a period of years. As early as March 7, 1745, proponents of such a division directed a petition to the House of Burgesses, protesting "that there are upwards of 3,000 tithables in the said County [Isle of Wight]; that the vast Extent of the same makes it very burthensome to many of its Inhabitants, who are obliged to meet near the Black-water, at General Musters, and abundance of poor People walk Thirty Miles and oftentimes lie in the Woods; others not being able to undergo such Hardships, suffer themselves to be fined: That the Distance of the Justices is so far from Court, and no Conveniency of Lodging there, that they seldom attend more than Six Times in a Year, And pray that the said County may be divided into two distinct Counties, by the Black-water Stream."

The county was named after the Third Earl of Southampton (1573-1624), who was Henry Wriothesley, friend of Shakespeare, who dedicated to him two of his famous long poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. Wriothesley was Treasurer* of the Virginia Company and had an intense interest in the colonization of North America. He was eventually accused of participation in the treason of Essex, and spent his last days in The Netherlands. The second Earl of Essex himself, a favorite of Queen Elizabeth I of England and her appointee as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had angered her by the failure of his operations against Irish rebels; and when he failed in laying his defense before her and did not regain his standing at the royal court, conspired to compel her by force of arms to dismiss his enemies in the council. He was arrested and executed for treason in 1601. Shakespeare's friend, after whom Southampton County was named, escaped that fate.

Southampton County is bounded on the east, as already noted, by the Blackwater River, which separates it from Isle of Wight County, as well as

* Chief executive officer.

for some distance by Nansemond County; on the northwest by Surry and Sussex counties; on the west by Greensville County; and on the south by the North Carolina State line. It is approximately 40 miles long and 15 miles wide, with a total area of 604 square miles. It is drained by the Meherrin, Nottoway and Blackwater rivers, and has the mild climate characteristic of the region.

Boasting a population of 26,522 (1950 census), this county includes within its borders seven incorporated towns—Courtland, Franklin, Boykins, Capron, Ivor, Newsoms and Branchville. Courtland, the county seat, is centrally located in the county, while Franklin is the leading town in size with a population of 4,670 (1954 census). Courtland's population is 600. These towns and the county's other communities are linked by an excellent system of roads and highways, the chief ones being United States Routes 58 and 158 and State Routes 33 and 35.

Prior to the first decade of the eighteenth century there were seemingly no legal settlements south of the Blackwater River. In March, 1697, the surveyor of Surry and Isle of Wight counties was ordered to appear on the next court day of the General Court, bearing copies of all entries he had made on the "Black Water." When he attended the General Court session, he evidently failed to show by what authority he had made the entries which he had brought, and also failed to bring his commission or instructions with him. Consequently he was ordered to appear at a subsequent session of the Council. On that occasion he brought his commission and presented it, but did not seem to clear himself "for taking entrys of Land on the Black water contrary to restrictions and orders of Councill," so was suspended by that body.

Whatever politics underlay the Council decision, it revealed certainly a growing interest in a region until then largely unexplored, or at least unsettled. A proclamation of December, 1710, prohibited the seating of land between the Nottoway and Meherrin rivers. But by January, 1711, many settlers had seated themselves and their settlements were prospering. Evidence of the headway made lies in the order of 1734 that a new Court House be built on the east side of the Blackwater River, near Quinny's Bridge. In that same year a parish was formed on the west side of the Blackwater. By 1745, as noted, the inhabitants were finding the outlines of the original county of Isle of Wight unwieldy from an administrative and functional point of view—a condition which was corrected by creation of the separate county in 1749.

The first court in the present Southampton County was held at the home of Elizabeth Ricks, about two miles from the present county seat of Courtland, on June 8, 1749. Several leaders in the district at that time took oaths of office, becoming justices of the peace and judges in chancery. These men were Samuel Blow, Jesse Brown, Peter Butts, Howell Edmonds, Joseph Gray,

Thomas Jarrell, Albridgeton Jones, John Person, James Ridley, Nathaniel Ridley, Benjamin Ruffin, Benjamin Simmons, Ethelred Taylor and Thomas Williamson. Richard Kello became the first county clerk; Benjamin Ruffin, the first sheriff; Peter Butts and Thomas Jarrell, the first coroners; and Arthur Arrington, John Bowen, Jr., Benjamin Branch, Joseph Cobb and Samuel Kindred, the first constables.

At that same court session at Elizabeth Ricks's home, consideration was given to public buildings. Agreement was reached that these buildings were to be "fixed" on the land of Elizabeth Exum, near Flowers Bridge, now Courtland, on the Nottoway River. The justices were commissioned to purchase two acres of land and to advertise publicly that any builder desiring to erect these buildings should meet with them and agree upon the matter. The Court House was to be 40 feet long and 24 feet wide, with the other buildings as the constraining justices should deem appropriate. Exum Scott was licensed to keep an ordinary at his house near Flowers Bridge, rates being listed according to law.

The August, 1749, term of court was held at Exum Scott's house. At that time the permanent seat of government was established in what later became Courtland. Leonard Claiborne, Jr., Gentleman, produced his license and was sworn in as an attorney-at-law. Robert Jones presented his commission from the president and masters of the College of William and Mary, and was named county surveyor. Early representatives sent to the House of Burgesses were Ethelred Taylor, Thomas Jarrett, Joseph Gray and William Taylor.

The court term of June, 1750, provided for the building of a prison. Robert Ricks was paid £23, 10s. for erecting its framework. On February 14, 1751, a committee was ordered to inspect the prison, pillory, stocks and whipping post. Payment to Ricks evidently meant that the structures passed inspection.

The Court House required more time for its construction, and complete approval of the work was not so quickly forthcoming. It was practically finished by April 9, 1752, when an inspection committee was named. The next court ordered that Arthur Williamson be paid £50 for completion of the work, though a further order described certain work which was needed in order to meet fully the terms of the agreement.

On January 11, 1753, Harry Blount and Micajah Edwards were ordered to appraise lands for the remainder of the county buildings, pursuant to an Act of Assembly. Exum Scott was allotted funds for this purpose. Although the amounts paid for such work may seem small by any standards approaching those of the present time, there was undoubtedly by the general levels of the period a greater quantity of wealth in the area than might be ordinarily imagined. The wealth of the residents was evidenced, rather, in possessions which were recorded in inventories, appraisals, wills and similar documents—

not money, but such items as cooper's tools, silver spoons, "ivory hefted knives," mourning rings, casks of brandy and quarters of bacon.

As in other Tidewater counties, the Established Church long ruled the religious life. Parish and political government existed side by side, with the bounds of a parish usually corresponding with those of a county in the earlier stages, until at length it became convenient to divide the parish, while county divisions took place less frequently. Nottoway Parish existed before Southampton County, having been formed in 1734 from those parts of Newport and Warrosquyoake parishes which lay on the west side of the Blackwater River. At the time of the formation of the county of Southampton, in 1749, the parish was already growing unwieldy in its proportions, with the result that in 1762 it was divided and the Parish of St. Luke, lying between the Nottoway and Meherrin rivers, was split off from it.

As in other parts of Virginia, the parishes were administered by their boards of vestrymen, there usually being twelve vestrymen who were the chief officers of each parish. Just as the political government prevailed over civil and public affairs, the parish heads—mainly the vestrymen, who were supposed to be models of rectitude—were the presiding geniuses over what now falls under the heading of social welfare work and even personal morality and behavior, as well as over the actual administration of the church organization.

With the oncoming of the Revolutionary War, sharp divisions of feeling arose, therefore, within the parish organizations as within the political life. Since the Established Church, basically, looked for its rulership across the Atlantic, its North American network included large numbers of Tories, as well as those whose feelings of loyalty were directed toward the aggrieved attitude of the revolutionary-minded colonists who could not brook the English tyranny. One of the early St. Luke's Parish ministers, George Gurley, who served at least from 1773 to 1792, probably longer, was a loyal Virginian, anti-English in all his sympathies. Another minister, William Andrews, of Nottoway Parish, was a Tory even as late as 1776. A third, Henry John Burges, a patriotic American, headed five churches in Southampton County and also taught school and interested himself in education. During the war, Burges was captured and imprisoned by the English. After his liberation at the close of hostilities, both he and Gurley were justices of the County Court.

Those ministers whose sympathies were on the Tory side, however, found no place for their activities in Virginia, if, indeed, they returned at all. The Established Church itself was at that stage under suspicion, and suffered a fast decline, with the Episcopal Church sometimes taking its place and the Methodist and Baptist denominations attracting many converts.

On the political side, too, of course, the mounting clashes of opinion had their effects in the external organization. In fact, it is not generally realized

how methods of government have changed with changing political moods from earliest colonial times down to the present, the changing moods themselves arising out of sometimes bitter experiences.

The system of warehousing and inspection of tobacco underwent different changes until, in 1730, the Governor and the County Court began to share together in a plan to erect warehouses and provide for the appointment of inspectors. All tobacco to be exported was thoroughly inspected as to both quality of product and packing. Similar warehousing and inspection systems were adopted for other commodities.

The great change came, of course, with the Revolutionary War, which signalized a world-wide trend, not merely a local or domestic uprising. With the oncoming of that moment of history, Southampton County threw her men and materials into the battle for independence. On March 9, 1775, the Committee of Public Safety of this county made arrangements for sending aid to the suffering people of Boston, with whom they substantially sympathized. Then, on August 6, 1776, the Governor of Virginia and his Council sent out a letter ordering the colonel of the minute battalion hold his troops ready to march whenever called upon. Four days later it was ordered that four companies of minutemen be raised to replace other Continental forces. In September of that year two companies of volunteer militia were sent to Williamsburg to protect the Capitol. In February, 1777, 200 men, including fifty from Southampton County, were directed to Hampton.

At different times units of the Southampton County Militia were called into active service. One-fourth of them were ordered to Petersburg on January 2, 1781, upon receipt of news of the invasion of Virginia, and others were called to duty in March following a consultation of the Governor and his Council with Baron von Steuben. In August, 1781, the county lieutenant was ordered to keep one-fourth of his militia in the field with Colonel Parker on the south side of the James.

In July, 1781, the Governor and his Council were informed that Southampton County citizens had supplied great quantities of "necessaries for the use of our armies in that Quarter, both voluntarily and by impressment," for which certificates had been granted. The sheriff of Southampton County protested that he was not empowered to receive these certificates in payment of taxes from aggrieved citizens within the county's borders. The reply of the Governor and his Council held that all such certificates which had been countersigned by Colonel Josiah Parker or Colonel Thomas Newton should be received as such payment.

During the Revolution, the British invaded the western portion of the county, but did little damage. On May 14, 1780, Colonel Banastre Tarleton's men cleared the fords along what is now Route 58 for Cornwallis's army, which was then advancing to Petersburg. Again the British struck at the

county's southeastern corner, near South Quay, which was then a port of entry on the Blackwater River, about four miles below the head of navigation. A raiding force from Portsmouth burned supplies there on July 16, 1781.

In 1791, the Revolution now well ended, Southampton County people felt a need for a town, and the Assembly of the new state passed an act in that year to establish the town of Jerusalem on ten acres of land adjoining the Court House. Almost a century later, in 1888, the local postmistress at Jerusalem, Fannie Barrett, protested that the name was not suitable for the community and should be changed, certain residents having been annoyed by the fact that whenever they visited Norfolk they were referred to as "those Arabs from Jerusalem." It was at that time that the name was changed accordingly to Courtland, which was then duly incorporated.

In September, 1798, the Court named several citizens to contract for removal of the Court House and instruct the contractor as to its location. It was in that same Court House building that Nat Turner was tried for instigating and leading the famous Southampton County Insurrection in 1831. Styled "Captain Nat Turner," he headed a group of Negroes who massacred fifty-eight persons and spread wide alarm throughout the Tidewater Virginia area, as well as in neighboring North Carolina. The group chose Boykins District, the most sparsely settled region of the county, for its major activity, striking at Cross Keys and thereabout on August 21 and 22, 1831. They hid in the woods until 10 o'clock Sunday night in order to give the victims an opportunity to retire, then proceeded to murder all at each house visited regardless of age or sex.

It was Turner's conviction, as a Bible-reading slave, that he had a divine mission to "go down to Jerusalem," and an eclipse of the sun in February, 1831, was considered by him a sign that the Day of Judgment was at hand and he should shortly carry out his duty. His owner was Putnam Moore, son of Thomas Moore and Mrs. Joseph Travis, who had remarried after Mr. Moore's death. The Travises lived near Cross Keys; hence the choice of that spot for the attack. In the first instance Turner had only seven followers, but sixty or more slaves soon joined him, and on their way to Jerusalem, killing and pillaging as they went, they fortified themselves with apple brandy for each new crime committed. Local militiamen led by Captain James D. Bryant, of Nottoway Parish, started in pursuit of the Negroes, following which there was a battle at Parker's Old Field, near Clarksbury Methodist Church, in which the insurgents were defeated. Nat Turner himself hid for two months, but was finally trapped in a cave near his old home. Despite the havoc created and the general fear spread throughout the area, such lawlessness could not prevail for long, and Turner was tried and found guilty, then hanged at "precisely 12 o'clock" on November 11, 1831.

By 1834 the frame Court House was already outmoded, and was replaced

by a new brick structure for which the bricks were said to have been processed in the Court House yard. Its unprepossessing rectangular form was not pleasing to later generations, however, whereupon the building was remodeled and renovated. A new tower and portico with massive columns were added, completely altering the appearance of the structure; and the interior was likewise redesigned to increase the building's usefulness and beauty. Unlike neighboring counties, Southampton has records dating back to its establishment in 1749, all of which are on hand, complete and intact, in the county clerk's office.

The rise of the railroad industry was important for Southampton County. It was in March, 1832, that the Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad was incorporated. Between May 1 and November 1, 1835, the portion of the road was laid which passed through this county. At that time plantation owners who lived near the right-of-way augmented their incomes by leasing their slaves to the contractors. The expectation was that the new road would divert from Petersburg to Norfolk and Portsmouth much of the trade with the rich Roanoke Valley.

On Friday, May 20, 1835, according to the *American Beacon* (Norfolk), sixty or seventy bales of cotton from the farms of Mr. Newsom and Mr. Vaughan, both in this county, had been received by the road there and immediately disposed of. On May 30, the road had transported sixty packages of merchandise to merchants in Southampton. Early station agents of the road were John R. ("Chock") Williams, at Franklin Depot; John M. Neal, at Newsoms' Depot; and Edward Beaton, at Boykins' Depot.

One of the obvious results of the building of this railroad was the rise of the community of Franklin, now the county's leading town and one which, population-wise, would be entitled to status as a city of the second class. Notes and papers left by Matthew Henning Moore, Franklin business man who died December 14, 1943, aged eighty-four years, referred to many forgotten facts and episodes of Franklin life. A very early reference was to Booth's store, opened in 1825. His enterprise evidently did not flourish, for he soon moved it to Suffolk, twenty miles away and already much more developed. The Blackwater River was at that time navigable as far as Franklin. And from South Quay, a port of entry on the river a few miles below Franklin, a well-travelled road proceeded to Franklin, where it split into two parts, one turning right at the foot of Main Street and following the river to a bridge about a half-mile downstream, while the other fork of the road led toward Jerusalem (now Courtland), the county seat. Every indication was that Franklin was at that period a potential seat of business life for the area, and only a slight "boost" or "good break" was needed for it to develop in an important way. The coming of the Portsmouth and Roanoke constituted this "break." Its terminus was Weldon, North Carolina, and the

first section to be completed, from Portsmouth to Suffolk, used horse-drawn trains. In September, 1834, the first steam locomotive in the area caused great excitement. A five-ton specimen, it was christened "John Barrett" in honor of the first white man to ascend the Roanoke River above the great falls. By July, 1835, the road had reached the Nottoway River, in Southampton County, and excursion trains were being run to this region. The point reached in this county at that early date was known as Murfee's Depot, named after a Baptist minister, the Rev. Simon Murfee.

A reporter wrote in the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald* of July 29, 1835:

We enjoyed a delightful ride on the Portsmouth & Roanoke Rail Road on Monday as far as the Nottoway, the present limit of the run of the cars. The distance is 42 miles, which is run with ease in somewhat less than three hours, with the new locomotive, 'General Cabel,' and the trip to the Nottoway and back, 34 miles, is performed in about 8 hours, which includes two for dinner and stoppages on the way.

To one bound on this jaunt there is not much diversity of scene—no hamlets, villas, churches, lawns, or other materials for a picturesque landscape (with the single exception of Suffolk, the scenery about which is worthy of the poet's lay)—nothing to relieve the monotony of the sylvan scene except a few inconsiderable farmsteads, which look as if they blushed at being exposed to the public gaze by the intrusion of the railroad upon their privacy—with here and there a barren field or half-grown crop of 'old field hickory.'

But our attention is yet more strongly attracted to the importance of the three fine watercourses which the railroad intersects in its progress to the majestic Roanoke, namely the Black Water, the Nottoway and the Meherrin rivers . . . Through either of these rivers (which all empty into the Chowan), with the assistance of small steamboats, an extensive trade and expeditious communication may be kept up between the railroad and Albemarle Sound. For this purpose Black Water appears to us to have the preference of the other two, not only on account of its greater depth of water but as pursuing a straighter course, and consequently arriving at its junction with the Chowan by a much shorter route than its near neighbor, the Nottoway. Here, in our opinion, will be the principal intermediate depot for produce on the line of the railroad; and we should not be surprised if, in a few years, the Bridge at Black Water (an admirable structure, by the way) were to exhibit at either end a thriving village, where now there is nothing to be seen but swampy wilderness.

Despite his considerable detail of description, the *Herald* reporter quoted above made no mention of any village or settlement on the Black Water at that time. Between July, 1835, and November 10, 1838, Franklin must have come into existence, therefore, as recorded in the journal of Elliott L. Story, a seventeen-year-old youth living in the Nottoway Chapel neighborhood,

about four miles from Jerusalem (Courtland), who noted on that date: "Went to Franklin to carry a letter to S. L. Williams."

In any event, record exists of small vessels bringing freight and passengers up the Blackwater to the bridge, where they could be transferred by a steep flight of steps to the railroad cars. The first depot known as Franklin Depot and the first water tank were built on the east bank of the river in Isle of Wight County, across from what later became the sawmill of the Camp Manufacturing Company.

One interesting sidelight of that early railroad was, according to records left by R. Crawford Barrett, the first white man born in Franklin, reference to the "strap-iron" track, which had an unpleasant, not to say dangerous, habit of "rearing up" at the ends of the "straps" and piercing the floors of the cars, threatening to "harpoon" any passenger nearby and hoist him to the roof of the car, impaled on the jagged end of the "strap-rail." The strap-iron rails were therefore replaced by improved "T" rails, which had been introduced as far as the river's east bank in 1847, when R. Crawford Barrett's father, Richard Barrett, came to Franklin to take up his residence with his wife, Mary Murfee, daughter of the Rev. Simon Murfee, mentioned above. The Barretts lived immediately south of the present Lyon's State Theatre, in Franklin. At the insistence of the foreman of the track layers, Mr. Barrett served meals to the railroad workers and supplied a room for the foreman. The boarding house thus started became a hotel a few months later, and Mr. Barrett finally convinced railroad officials to move the depot to the west side of the river, where he built a larger hotel. Elliott Story's journal recorded on Saturday, March 27, 1858: "Went to Franklin in the evening, bought a few articles, got my paper from the office and bought a few white shad, the first we had had this season. They were in great excitement at Franklin about moving the depot on this side of the river."

That same depot, a frame structure, served until destroyed in the great fire of 1881, when it was replaced by a new brick depot. Mr. Barrett continued in the hotel business until his death in 1868, except for a brief interruption during the War between the States. Among large early Franklin landowners were Jordan Edwards, John Williams and John B. Jenkins. Richard Barrett bought the Jenkins farm in 1847. Because the Barretts clung to their property they bought more than did the Edwards and Williams families. The town at first spread to the north and west instead of following the railroad, as it has done more recently. Other early landholders were the late Denson and Samuel B. Pretlow. In 1847 Alexander W. Norfleet, of Nansemond County, came to Franklin and started a mercantile business which flourished prior to the War between the States. He was agent for the Clyde Line, which had a wharf at what later came to be known as "Pin Point." The

steamboat *Helen Smith* hauled passengers and freight between Franklin and Murfreesboro and other places in northeastern North Carolina.

Another early railroad was the Norfolk and Petersburg, incorporated in 1851 and built under the direction of a noted Southampton County native, William Mahone, who became an engineer and later achieved distinction in the War between the States as "Hero of the Crater." Born December 1, 1826, about five miles southwest of Franklin, he was a major general in the Confederate army. The action which brought him his famous soubriquet took place July 30, 1864. He was United States Senator from Virginia from 1881 to 1887, and died in Washington, D. C., October 8, 1895. The Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad, of which he was the builder, was merged with the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad and the South Side Railroad in 1870, to form the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio Railroad, which eventually became the Norfolk and Western.

Another and very special artery of trade and travel in ante-bellum days was the Petersburg and Jerusalem Plank Road, which connected those two end-points by way of Littleton and Hawkinsville, in Sussex County, and Templeton, in Prince George County. William E. Proctor was president of the company incorporated by act of the General Assembly, passed March 8, 1853; and the treasurer of the enterprise was J. C. Schoolfield. Capital stock was valued at \$75,000, divided into \$50 shares, and the building contract was led to a Mr. Pratt, of New York, at \$1,900 per mile. The contractor operated a portable sawmill, which he used to cut the heartpine lumber for the road. Portions of the road were unearthed when the "Ridge Route" concrete road was laid from Courtland to Petersburg in the 1920s.

Credit is generally given to General George Henry Thomas, born July 31, 1816, about five miles southwest of Courtland, for the fact that no fighting took place in this county during the War between the States. He was a graduate of the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, and after serving in the Mexican War he remained in the army during the War between the States. It is said that, in retaining his commission, he stipulated that there should be no fighting in Southampton County, an obvious exaggeration. By saving Rosecrans' army from destruction, September 20, 1863, he won the appellation "Rock of Chickamauga." As Federal commander in Tennessee he defeated Hood at Nashville on December 16, 1864.

Despite the fact that Southampton County passed through the war without the ravages of fighting on its own soil, many of its sons served in the conflict. The Southampton Cavalry was commanded by Captain (later Major) Joseph E. Gillette, and became Company A of the Thirteenth Virginia Cavalry, training near Smithfield under Colonel Roger A. Pryor. It served in north-

eastern North Carolina in 1862, and was a participant in many battles that were fought in the Richmond and northern Virginia area.

Another unit was Company A of the Eighteenth Battalion, Virginia Artillery, led by Captain William H. Pretlow and composed chiefly of Southampton men. Company G of the Sixty-first Regiment of Virginia Infantry, Mahone's Brigade, had for its first captain L. W. Mason, of Sussex County. It included men of both Southampton and Sussex counties, as well as from North Carolina. Its second captain was R. E. Moseley, a citizen of the latter State. Captain W. H. Wood also organized a company which was later commanded by Captain Frank Drewry and Lieutenant Littleton A. Gay. The Southampton Greys (Company D, Third Virginia Infantry) was organized at Jerusalem on May 3, 1861, and mustered into service at Berlin on June 3, that year, under command of Captain C. F. Urquhart.

In addition to Generals Mahone and Thomas, serving Confederacy and Union respectively, another Southampton County citizen, Captain James Henry Rochelle, served aboard the Confederate ironclad *Virginia* when it fought the *Monitor* in the world's first historic battle of ironclad ships. Captain Rochelle was born in Jerusalem on November 1, 1826, son of James and Martha (Gray) Rochelle. A graduate of the United States Naval Academy, he served in the Navy during the Mexican War aboard both the *Falmouth* and the *Decatur*. During the War between the States he served on the *Patrick Henry* in the James River, then on the *Virginia*, as the *Merrimac* was renamed. Returning after the war to Southampton County, he later went to South America to conduct hydrographic surveys for the Peruvian Government, there naming a site on the Amazon River "Letizia" in honor of his niece, Letitia Christian Tyler, grand-daughter of President Tyler. She became the wife of William Briggs Shands, a Jerusalem attorney who became a Confederate general. Both Captain Rochelle and General Shands were buried in Courtland (formerly Jerusalem), where they died in 1889 and 1906 respectively.

Spared the bitter fighting which raked nearby counties, Southampton was able to recover faster than its neighbors when peace was restored. Again the railroads played an important role. In 1882 the Virginia Assembly approved a bill to incorporate the Atlantic and Danville Railway Company, which started construction under its charter at Claremont, on the James River, in Surry County on April 2, 1883. The project called for a narrow-gauge line to Belfield (now Emporia), a distance of fifty miles. The track was laid by 1885 and operations began in that year. In 1886 an act of Assembly called for extension from Belfield-Hicksford (Emporia) to Danville, as well as extension eastward to Norfolk. The company then started building a standard-gauge road from Portsmouth, connecting at Belfield with the "James River Division," as the original road came then to be called. The line was completed to Danville on February 15, 1890, with the aid of English

capital represented by Newgass and Company. Financial stringency caused sale of the property on April 3, 1894, to B. Newgass and O. H. Edinger. On August 31, 1899, it was leased for fifty years to the Southern Railway Company. Upon expiration of that lease, in 1949, it once more became the Atlantic and Danville. At that time it installed diesel engines. The road's path is a snake-like one, most likely because of early agreements with the counties through which it passed that it would go through every county seat. This restriction, combined with natural topographic limitations, was a matter



(Courtesy Union Bag-Camp Paper Corp.)

FRANKLIN—HIGH SCHOOL

of bitter feeling in the late 1880s, when the road sought taxpayers' help to keep itself going.

The county is today served by four railroads—the Seaboard Air Line, the Norfolk and Western, the Atlantic and Danville and the Virginian; the latter—the youngest—was completed in 1909.

The watercourses of the county have also played an important social and economic role, though less so recently than in the days when steamboating was a major means of transportation. In the late 1880s and early 1890s the Blackwater and Chowan rivers were long-established and still busy arteries of commerce. The Weyanoke (named the "Black Water" by the early white settlers) formed with other streams a 150-mile travel route from its headwaters to Durant's Neck and Harvey Point on Albemarle Sound. First the

Indians' canoes gave way to sailboats. Then sailboats yielded place to steam-powered ships, first of which in the Blackwater seems to have been the *Bravo*, which appeared about 1835, close to the time when the steam railroad came into existence. The *Bravo* burned to the water's edge among the river's lily pads, but not before it demonstrated the feasibility of the steamboat. The operating company replaced it with a larger ship. Leaders in the venture were Abram Riddick, a wealthy farmer of Riddicksville, North Carolina; Dr. Thomas D. Warren and Edward Wood, of Edenton, North Carolina; and Robert Dixon, of Portsmouth. They founded the Albemarle Steam Navigation Company in 1840, and it continued until 1929 except for a period of interruption during the War between the States. The *Fox*, the *Schultz*, the *Stag* and the *Curlew* were early ships in its service. The *Curlew* was put into service in 1859, and two years later was put into war service, covered with black paint and with a cannon mounted on its deck. It was sunk by enemy action off Roanoke Island in 1862. The *Stag* was placed crosswise in the river to keep the Federal forces out, being deliberately sunk in thirty feet of water. The *Emma* and the *Arrow*, from North Carolina, were brought to Franklin for safe keeping, but were sunk at their wharf. Later army dredging operations removed the wreckage.

After the war the company was reorganized, and its competitor, the Clyde Line, joined in creating considerable river traffic. The ASN steamer *Nanticoke* was brought to this area from Pennsylvania in the summer of 1907, during the Jamestown Exposition, to haul excursionists from the Seaboard terminal in Portsmouth to Pine Beach. Other boats appearing from time to time were tugboats and tramp steamers hauling lumber. Today, of course, there are still boats on the rivers; but for the most part they have given way to the products of the age of gasoline and electricity.

Agriculture has been dominant among Southampton County's economic activities. Back in 1697, fifty years before the county came into being, a county surveyor for Isle of Wight and Surry counties, a man named Williamson, lost his job because he permitted "without authority of the Council" the settling of land west of the Blackwater. This land was evidently desirable for its fertility. But no settlements are believed to have been established in this region before 1710. The original fertility did not last, probably because the soil was not properly cared for. By 1860, however, agriculture was still the major industry, only forty-five persons having been then engaged in other commercial enterprises such as cooperage and flour milling. Most of the products of the soil were used by county residents for their own needs, and no real soil improvement program seemed possible until well along in the nineteenth century. At the present time cattle and hog production continues at a busy pace, with the hogs feeding the lively Smithfield ham industry; and incidentally the Southampton ham is very highly thought of hereabouts, also.

In 1950 the county had 2,175 farms, some of them of notable size. Southampton County early made use of agricultural agents, and in 1934 an appropriation was provided for a Negro farm agent. Excellent relationships between white and Negro farm agents and home agents still exist.

One of the more recent farm products has been peanuts, of commercial importance since about 1870. A pioneer in development of the crop was John Pretlow, Jr., merchant, planter and landowner of Franklin. He started pro-



(Courtesy Union Bag-Camp Paper Corp.)

FRANKLIN—MAIN STREET

ducing seed peanuts, formed wide contacts with farmers, and founded Pretlow and Company. Perfect nuts brought premium prices, and he did much to introduce practices that would produce the perfect nut. He installed on his farm machinery for cleaning and preparing peanuts for the market. A leading market at the outset was Norfolk, where early buyers of Pretlow products were the Winborne Peanut Company and the American Peanut Company. Then sales spread to Philadelphia, Baltimore and elsewhere. One of the first cleaning plants was established in Franklin on the site now occupied by the Pretlow Peanut Company, Inc.

On November 21, 1889, a charter was granted to the Farmers Alliance Peanut Cleaning and Storage Company, whose president was Carr Beale.

Prominent farmers were its directors. The Ivor Alliance Cooperative Association was formed in 1890 for the industrial milling of peanuts. Charters were granted to the Courtland Alliance Peanut Cleaning and Storage Company in 1891, with Thomas J. Pretlow as its president, as well as to the Ivor Alliance Cooperative Association in 1893. The Courtland plant was the site on which the Birdsong Storage Company later set up its first peanut milling operation.

The Farmers Alliance company had financial trouble, and was sold to C. C. Vaughan for \$1,250. Mr. Vaughan had been engaged in banking operations for ten years, organizing the banking house of Vaughan and Company, which today has resources of about \$8,000,000 and is headed by the founder's grandson, C. C. Vaughan, III. On December 1, 1898, the original Mr. Vaughan sold the peanut company which he had purchased to J. M. Story, who ran it as the Virginia Peanut Company. In August, 1906, the Virginia Peanut Company and the Pretlow Peanut Company merged to form the Virginia-Pretlow Peanut Company, with J. M. Story as president and R. A. Pretlow as secretary and treasurer. In 1912 Mr. Story sold his interests, and the enterprise became once more the Pretlow Peanut Company, which R. A. Pretlow headed until his death in 1946. The business was sold in 1952 to the Birdsongs of Suffolk. Harvard R. Birdsong became its president at that time. Another firm which conducts extensive operations in this peanut belt is the Columbian Peanut Co., headed by William P. Woodley; this company has plants at Wakefield (in neighboring Surry) and at Suffolk, and maintains its headquarters in Norfolk.

Lumber was an early important industry in the county. The Camp Manufacturing Company originally purchased the mill on which their industry is based in 1886 from Johnson Neely, whose brother, William Neely, had died in 1882. The Neely family's lumber activities date back to 1855, when Robert Johnson Neely and William Neely left their home in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, to build a sawmill in the South. Near Franklin Depot they found the site where they started their business, the R. J. and W. Neely Lumber Company. Paul Camp began manufacturing lumber at his own sawmill in 1876, producing 6,000 feet daily. His brother, James L. Camp, engaged independently in the same field. Later they joined together and extended their operations to North Carolina. A third brother, Robert J. Camp, was the third officer-founder of the Camp company.

The Camp activities gradually extended to include pulp and paper operations, and in 1936 the Chesapeake-Camp Corporation was formed to handle the varied undertakings. In 1938, when their pulp and paper mill started, it had a capacity of 150 tons per day. New machines were added in both the lumber and paper branches until the Camp Manufacturing Company, Inc., built up its output to 100,000 feet of lumber and its Paper

Division was turning out 350 tons of brown and white papers daily in 1955. The plant site occupies an area six times the acreage of the original Neely purchase in 1855. The enterprise is now merged into giant industrial interests and is known as the Union Bag-Camp Paper Corporation, producing kraft paper, pulp, chemical by-products and lumber.

Other large industries include the St. Regis Paper Company, makers of heavy-duty multi-wall bags; Theo K. Hann & Son, basket manufacturers; the Hercules Powder Company, refiners of tall oil and producers of chemical processing materials; the Franklin Concrete Products Corporation; and the Blackwater Pallet Company. These industries are centered in Franklin. Nearby, on Route 58, is Swift and Company's livestock market. Corn, soybeans, peanuts and cotton continue to be major Southampton County crops, and splendid herds of purebred cattle and fine hogs are everywhere to be seen.

Lovely modern homes have appeared with latter-day industries. What is now Franklin Airport was formerly a naval auxiliary airfield. Greatly enlarged during World War II, it is currently leased to a private operator by the town of Franklin. It actually lies in Isle of Wight County, about one and one-half miles beyond the town's eastern corporate limits. Blackwater River shipping today is mainly concerned with lumber, pulp and paper.

The county has given soldiers and sailors to two world wars in recent decades, and its industries and farms have performed invaluable services in war and peace. Southampton County sons who laid down their lives in the country's cause in World War II were:

BAILEY, SPURGEON W., Cpl., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. C. T. Bailey, Franklin
BILLUPS, JAMES ROBERT. (*See* Isle of Wight County)

BRIDGES, GLENN, T/5, A. Mother, Mrs. Lelia W. Bridges, Franklin

CALLAHAN, JOHN JOSEPH, JR., MoMM2c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. John
Joseph Callahan, Sr., Franklin

CLOSE, WINDER L., Pfc., A. Father, William K. Close, Sedley

DARDEN, ALFRED C., JR., 1st Lt., A.

ELLSWORTH, WALLACE F., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Mary Ellsworth, Sedley

FRANKFORT, WYNANS ELLIS, Lt. A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Frankfort,
Franklin

HOLLAND, JAMES W., Pvt., A. Brother, Homer H. Holland, Franklin

HOLLOWAY, ANDREW L., Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Addie Holloway, Ivor

HOLT, CHARLIE BERNARD, S1c, N. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Herman F. Holt,
Sedley

(Also Petersburg City)

JACKSON, JOHN WASHE, StM2c, N. Father, Allison J. Jackson, Capron

JANSSEN, RUFUS J., Pfc., M. Mother, Mrs. Neta Stewart Franklin

- JENKINS, WILLIAM JIMMIE, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Mary Alice Jenkins, Courtland
- JOHNSON, ALVIN R., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Emma Johnson, Boykins
- JOHNSON, JAMES E., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Eddie Johnson, Branchville
- KNIGHT, JAMES ALEXANDER, Pvt., A. Mother, Mrs. Annie D. Knight, Boykins
(Also Greenville County)
- MABRY, JOSEPH LEE, Pfc., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Mabry, Franklin
- MARKS, HENRY E., JR., 2nd Lt., A. Mother, Mrs. Ethel D. Marks, Courtland
- MASON, JAMES H., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Eddie Mason, Franklin
- NEWSOME, LEON MCKINLEY, S1c, N. Father, William Newsome, Franklin
- NEWSOME, LINWOOD T., T/Sgt., A.
- NICHOLS, WALTER G., Pfc., A.
- PITTMAN, HUGH OSBORNE. (*See* Richmond City)
- RAIFORD, HAROLD E., T/Sgt., A.
- RIDEOUT, FRANKLIN G., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Ella W. Rideout, Boykins
- ROGERS, OLDEN D., SR., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Bessie Davis Rogers, Courtland
- SYKES, RUFUS, Cpl., A. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Sykes, Adams Grove
- VICK, ELIAS R., JR., Capt., A. Father, Elmer R. Vick, Branchville
- WHEELER, WILLIAM J., Pfc., A. Wife, Mrs. Bessie C. Wheeler, Handsom
- WHITBY, ALBERT L., Pvt., A. Wife, Mrs. Nellie M. Whitby, Sedley
- WHITEHEAD, JORDAN WALTER, JR., S2c, N. Mother, Mrs. Bettie Whitehead, Courtland
- WHITFIELD, ELLIOTT K., Lt., A. Father, Charles F. Whitfield, Franklin
- WIGGINS, JOE DARDEN, S/Sgt., A. Wife, Mrs. Edna Brandt Wiggins, Huntsville, Alabama
- WOOD, LAYTON OSBON, JR., Pfc., A. Mother, Mrs. Grace M. Wood, Franklin
(Also Albemarle County)

The present Southampton County is one of the larger southside counties, having an area of 604 square miles. It is bounded on the northwest by Surry and Sussex counties, on the west by Greenville County, and on the east by Isle of Wight and Nansemond. Its southern boundary is the North Carolina state line. Its marl beds contain fossils and shells indicating that it was once covered by ocean waters. The 1950 census gave the county a population of 26,474, a gain of 32 during the decade. There are seven incorporated towns—Franklin, Courtland, Boykins, Branchville, Capron, Ivor and Newsoms.

An active civic organization is the Franklin Chamber of Commerce, organized in 1953. Franklin has had a town manager form of government since 1922, this form replacing the earlier mayor-and-council type of organization. Local social groups include the Young Men's Christian Association, and recreational activities include fishing, boating and hunting. Ponds in the

vicinity are well stocked with fish, and the woodlands abound with deer, wild turkeys, quail, rabbits and squirrels. The Franklin Library Association has more than 6,000 books. At Carrsville, five miles east of Franklin, there is a popular drive-in movie. Other communities not already mentioned in-



FRANKLIN—AERIAL VIEW, PAPER OPERATIONS, CAMP DIVISION,
UNION BAG-CAMP PAPER CORPORATION

clude Maury, Dory, Berlin, Unity, Vicksville, Sedley, Burdette, Sebrell, Joyner, Adams Grove, Drewryville, Pope, Handsom and Sunbeam. Except for Franklin, the seven towns have populations of less than 1,000.

Many distinguished citizens have been mentioned. One of those of whom the county is proudest was John Y. Mason, Congressman, United States District Judge, twice Secretary of the Navy, United States Attorney General and Minister to France. With James Buchanan, United States Ambassador to Great Britain, and Pierre Soule, Minister to Spain, he took part in drawing up the Ostend Manifesto in 1854, outlining the value of Cuba to the United States and the country's need to acquire that island, and declaring that if Spain would not sell it the United States would seize it by force. The United States Government disavowed the manifesto, probably because anti-slavery forces feared another slave state. Mason died in Paris on October 3, 1859, too soon to witness the war over the slavery issue which he had helped to intensify.

Another famous Virginian is the Hon. Colgate W. Darden, Jr., a former Governor and Congressman, who was born and reared in Southampton County; he recently announced his retirement as president of the University of Virginia. His brother, J. Pretlow Darden is an automobile dealer and former mayor of Norfolk.

As elsewhere in Tidewater Virginia, past and present are blended in Southampton County. Views of the countryside quickly recall to old-timers the life of a simpler and statelier period. But everywhere are signs of industry and commercial progress, which place present and past and more distant past layer over layer before the eyes of the present-day observer. These layers, like veils which removed reveal the truth, depict the story of Southampton County like a vision to the intelligent citizen with eyes open and mind awake.

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Chapter XXX

Search for the Chesapeake: The Roanoke Island Colonies

1584-1587

By *Marvin W. Schlegel*

IT WAS NOT mere chance that the first successful English colony took root in Tidewater Virginia. Nature had shaped it into the most favorable spot along the Atlantic coast of North America for the development of a prosperous settlement. The tributaries of the Chesapeake formed an ideal network of waterways in an age when land transportation was difficult and expensive, and its many harbors offered shelter from the ocean storms for all the fleets of the world. The climate of the region, extreme and immoderate as it appeared to persons accustomed to the more equable seasons of Europe, was still as mild as America could afford and was adapted to producing at least one of the commodities Europe desired, even if it could not provide the crops England expected to grow there. Moreover, the wide gap the mouth of the bay made in the shoreline offered a tempting prospect to early explorers, ever on the alert for any easy passage through the unknown continent into the Pacific.

The settlement of the Chesapeake, however, was to remain long delayed because of the surprising difficulty the first discoverers of the coast had in finding the bay. Just half a dozen years after Christopher Columbus had made his first voyage to the New World, when John Cabot sailed out of Bristol in search of the Pacific, he followed the American coast southward from Labrador and would have been the first European to set eyes upon the Chesapeake, but he decided to abandon his quest while he was still a hundred miles north of Cape Charles. Twenty-six years later, when Giovanni de Verrazano tried to find the northwest passage for the king of France, he likewise managed to miss the Chesapeake. Spanish explorers may have heard about the bay from the Indians about this time, as a Spanish map of 1529 shows the "Bahía de Santa María"—the name later applied to the Chesapeake—but, since the map shows it in the wrong location and in the wrong shape, Spanish knowledge of it must have been meager.¹

The earliest European entry into the bay which can be definitely established came in 1546 when an English privateer blown off its course found shelter in "a very good harbor" at 37° latitude, unmistakably the Chesapeake.

The English sailors, however, did not consider their discovery worth reporting back home, and it would have been completely forgotten, had it not been for one of the cabin boys, a lad named John, from Bristol. Many years later, in 1560, he was one of a group of sailors who came ashore in Yucatan and were duly brought before the Spanish officials for questioning. The viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco, was very much interested in John's report and sent ships out to search for the bay.²

One of these ships—the records unfortunately tell us nothing of the expedition—brought back to Mexico an Indian youth who belonged to the family of the great chief Powhatan, if indeed he was not Powhatan himself. He was instructed in the Christian religion by Dominican friars and baptised with the name of the viceroy. After the Spaniards had established themselves on the Florida coast at St. Augustine in 1565, the Spanish commander there, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, decided to use the Indian Don Luis to extend the influence of the Spanish king and the Catholic Church to the Chesapeake. In 1566 Don Luis attempted to guide two Dominicans back to his homeland but ended up in Spain instead after he failed to find the bay.³

Back in America once more, Don Luis inspired the Jesuits to take up the task left undone by the Dominicans. Convinced by the Indian that the Chesapeake savages would welcome salvation, Father Juan Baptista de Segura, vice-provincial of the order in Florida, set out for the bay with eight colleagues and Don Luis and arrived there early in September 1570. With Don Luis as guide, the priests went up the James as far as College Creek, where they crossed to the York River and there set up a board hut to serve as lodging and chapel, the first Christian church in Virginia. Scarcely had the ships which had brought them sailed beyond the capes, however, before the fathers had reason to regret their rashness in placing so much faith in their Indian convert. Back among his own people, Don Luis soon forgot his newly-acquired civilization and left the mission to live in another village. There he horrified the Jesuits even more by reverting to the Indian custom of polygamy. When the fathers kept demanding that he drop his un-Christian way of life and return to the mission, Don Luis decided to end this interference with his freedom. In February 1571 Don Luis and his friends set upon the Jesuits and murdered them; only a boy, Alonso de Olmos, was spared from the slaughter and thus survived to tell the story.⁴

A year later Menéndez came up from St. Augustine on a punitive expedition. Although he could not lay hands on Don Luis, he did capture a number of Indians and convicted eight of them of having taken part in the murder. All of them were hanged, after they had been baptized by the Jesuits who had come with Menéndez. Then, taking with them the liberated Alonso, the Spaniards sailed back to St. Augustine, abandoning the Chesapeake to the savages.⁵

The Spanish failure to occupy this strategically-located bay was to have fateful consequences for the future of North America, but it had no immediate effects. The haphazard communications of the sixteenth century kept any knowledge of the Spanish exploration from reaching England, even though the English were about to search for just such a good harbor as a base for their privateering ventures against the Spanish treasure fleet. The need for a naval base was, of course, only one of the many motives urging on the English plans for colonization of the New World. Profit was expected from the discovery of the northwest passage to the Far East, from gold mines, from trade with the Indians, and from the production of tropical crops; moreover, a successful venture across the Atlantic would redound to the greater glory of England.

These were the arguments advanced by the two Richard Hakluyts, self-appointed propagandists of American colonization, and they gained urgency as England's undeclared war with Spain became more intense in the 1580's, emphasizing the value of a trans-Atlantic naval base. Several exploratory voyages were undertaken in search of a site for a colony, the best-known being the one led by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, which resulted in his death in a storm on the way home. Undaunted by this disaster, the English redoubled their efforts. Early in 1584, Gilbert's half-brother, Walter Raleigh, obtained from Queen Elizabeth I a new patent for a colony in North America to replace the expiring grant made to Gilbert six years before. While the ink was still drying on the patent, Raleigh dispatched two ships under the command of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe to renew the search for a suitable location.

Unlike Gilbert, who had followed John Cabot's route across the North Atlantic to Newfoundland, Amadas and Barlowe in 1584 headed south to the Canaries and crossed from there to the West Indies. Here they took on fresh food and water and then sailed northeast to look for a convenient harbor. The first land they sighted was the Carolina Banks, which they took for the continent. After coasting along the Banks for days, their Portuguese pilot, Simon Fernandez, discovered a shallow inlet, which the ships managed to enter on July 13. This apparent good luck was to set back English colonization twenty years, for it kept the captains from continuing their explorations to the north, where they would have found the Chesapeake.

As it was, Amadas and Barlowe decided to ignore the difficulties they had encountered in getting through the inlet and to explore the broad sound in which they found themselves for a site for the proposed colony. What they saw aroused their enthusiasm, according to the report Captain Barlowe later made to Raleigh. Even the Banks delighted Barlow; there, he declared, were "the highest and reddest Cedars of the world," with game animals "in incredible abundance" and so many grapes "that I thinke in all the world

the like abundance is not to be found." "The soile," he added, "is the most plentiful, sweete, fruitfull, and wholesome of all the world."⁶

The inhabitants of this land of plenty seemed friendly and hospitable; in Barlow's opinion, they were "most gentle, louing, and faithfull, void of all guile, and treason, and such as liued after the manner of the golden age."⁷ The first Indian they met was so pleased with the gifts they gave him that he went out and caught a boatload of fish to present in exchange, and others brought in deer hides, buffalo skins, and pearls to offer in trade. Barlowe and several others visited an Indian queen on an island which was called "Roan-oak," and the red-skinned lady entertained them with true Southern hospitality, drying their wet clothes, giving them a lavish dinner, and inviting them to spend the night, although not even the trustful Barlowe dared to go to sleep in the midst of the savages.

In spite of their complete ignorance of the native language, the explorers were able to pick up a good deal of information about the region from the Indians. The difficulty in communications created some inevitable misunderstandings. When one of the redskins was asked the name of the country, the Englishmen carefully recorded his answer, "Wingandacoa." It was not until much later that they learned that the savage had merely been expressing his admiration for their clothes. Well satisfied with their brief exploration of the sounds, Amadas and Barlowe departed for home, taking with them two natives, named Manteo and Wanchese, who were interested in exploring the Old World, and arrived in England in the middle of September 1584.

The enthusiastic reports the captains brought back persuaded Raleigh to attempt to settle a colony on Roanoke Island. Such a venture required more capital than Raleigh could supply himself, wealthy as the queen's favor had already made him, and he set out to enlist partners. Manteo and Wanchese, the first Indians ever seen in England, made excellent advertising for the enterprise. Having exchanged their deerskin mantles for English brown taffeta and learned a few words of English, they were shown off to prospective adventurers. In order to add the endorsement of Parliament to his project, he had a bill introduced to confirm the queen's patent. Although this bill was quietly dropped when the House of Commons placed a few unwelcome restrictions on Raleigh's powers, it helped Raleigh to win the support he needed.⁸

The most important of Raleigh's partners was the queen herself. Elizabeth showed her approval by making him a knight and allowing him to name the new country Virginia in honor of her. More important, she lent him one of her ships, the *Tiger*, and furnished the gunpowder for the expedition. She also authorized him to impress both men and ships if he should need them. Similar powers were granted to Sir Francis Drake, who was scheduled to

follow Raleigh with another expedition, raiding the Spanish Main for supplies for the new Virginia colony as well as for personal profit.

England was a-bustle in the early months of 1585, as preparations for the twin ventures went forward. Richard Hakluyt furnished Raleigh his expert advice and from his post as chaplain at the Paris embassy forwarded every scrap of information he could lay his hand on. At his suggestion men with special skills were enlisted to bring back more precise data about the possibilities of the country. A Jewish mining expert from Prague, named Joachim Ganz, was retained to investigate mineral prospects. From Raleigh's own household went Thomas Hariot, mathematician, astronomer, and all-round scientist, who had already been learning the Indian tongue from Manteo and Wanchese. A veteran of the 1584 voyage, John White, was assigned the task of bringing back pictures of the New World, an assignment he was to fulfill with great skill. Other members of the 1584 expedition, including Amadas, Barlowe, and the Portuguese pilot, likewise went along to contribute their experience. At the queen's request Ralph Lane was released from military service in Ireland to accompany the settlers. The entire fleet was placed under the command of Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville.

As the vessels gathered in Plymouth, it was decided to sail on April 9 with those that were ready, leaving the rest to follow in a second expedition at a later date. In all there were about 600 men, more than half intending to remain as colonists, aboard five ships, not counting the two small pinnaces which were towed by two of the larger vessels. Flagship of the squadron was the queen's *Tiger*, carrying Grenville as "general" and Simon Fernandez as master pilot. Following the usual course south to the Canaries, the fleet was scattered by a storm off the coast of Portugal. The *Tiger* lost the pinnace she was towing but made her way alone to the West Indies, where she was later joined by the *Elizabeth*, captained by Thomas Cavendish, who as high marshal ranked second after Grenville.⁹

Grenville lingered a month in the islands, building a new pinnace to replace the one lost in the storm and capturing a couple of Spanish vessels that fell into his hands. He converted his prizes into provisions for the colony by selling the captured cargoes to other Spaniards in exchange for livestock and food. Ralph Lane, who as lieutenant general was the third-ranking officer of the expedition, was sent off with a small party to gather salt. Alarmed by the unexpected arrival of a group of Spanish soldiers, even though they did not attack him, Lane on his return criticized Grenville violently for placing him in such a dangerous situation. Trouble had been brewing for some time between the two men, each of whom was hot-tempered and accustomed to having his own way. Lane apparently was critical of Grenville's privateering, which he thought was wasting valuable time by delaying the start of the

colony. Lane escaped a court-martial, probably because the other officials sided with him, but he never forgave Grenville.

At length Grenville headed north with his ships, now numbering five with the addition of the new pinnace and the two Spanish prizes, and on June 20 sighted the mainland for the first time. Six days later they found an inlet, called Wococon by the Indians, at the southern end of Pamlico Sound, and decided to enter the sound there. This proved to be a disastrous decision, for the *Tiger* grounded on the shoal and was almost broken up. Although the men managed to get the ship afloat again after two hours and safely beached, many of the supplies needed for the colony were damaged or destroyed.

This loss was in part redeemed by the discovery of the other ships which had sailed out of Plymouth, missing since the April storm. On July 6 a party was sent north along the coast and on Croatoan, the next island north, they found two men who had been put ashore there by Captain George Raymond of the *Lion* about three weeks before. These men had been landed with thirty others to take care of themselves, since the *Lion* had been running short of supplies; in fact, the *Lion* had already dumped twenty passengers on an uninhabited shore in Jamaica. About the same time, it was learned that the *Roebuck* and probably the fifth vessel, the little *Dorothy*, had also arrived and were waiting for Grenville.

While the *Tiger* was being repaired and refloated so that it could be taken on up the coast, Grenville decided to use the time required for the construction to explore Pamlico Sound. On July 11 he set out on a week-long trip in four boats, the largest being the pinnace built in the West Indies and visited several Indian villages along the shores of the sound and in Pamlico River. While John White industriously sketched pictures of the savages and their homes, the natives hospitably entertained their guests, and the visitors in turn distributed suitable presents. One little Indian girl delightedly clutched a doll dressed in the height of European fashion, and John White promptly recorded this meeting of the two worlds.¹⁰ The only incident marring this idyllic voyage occurred at the town of Aquascogoc, where one of the Indians showed as little consideration for English property rights as the English did for the Spaniards' and made off with a silver cup. When the English demanded restitution, the embarrassed chieftain promised to see that the cup was returned. Amadas came back a few days later to find the cup still missing and the frightened savages gone as well; he therefore demonstrated the danger of defying English authority by burning the town and destroying the crops in the field.

Before the end of July the *Tiger* was afloat once more and on its way up to Roanoke Island. Granganimeo, brother of the local chief, Wingina, came aboard to welcome them and invited them to build their fort beside his

village on the island. This friendly invitation was accepted, and the fort was completed early in September. Meanwhile, there seems to have been some difference of opinion over the desirability of remaining in Virginia, since the safest inlet, Port Ferdinando, had a clearance of only twelve feet over the bar at high tide. Grenville, remembering his dangerous experience with the *Tiger*, decided to go back to England, while his enemy Lane decided to remain as commander of the fort. A hundred others agreed to stay with Lane.

Lane was as enthusiastic over the prospects of the colony as Barlowe had been a year earlier. In letters written home he optimistically predicted that Virginia could supply wines, oil, flax, rosin, frankincense, currants, sugars, and "sundry other rich commodities." The people, he wrote, are "naturally most curteous," and the country itself he called "the goodliest and most pleasing territorie of the world." He praised the climate, scarcely mentioning the summer heat. Even the unsatisfactory harbors were converted into an advantage, since they would make it difficult for the Spaniards to attack the settlement.¹¹

After the last ships had sailed for England, however, Lane's optimism began to wane. Since the only account of this first winter spent by Englishmen on American soil is Lane's own report, which was naturally intended to make both Lane and the colony look good, Lane's difficulties must be found between the lines of his narrative. His feeble excuses for his failure to conduct any explorations during the winter indicate his troubles in controlling his men, who must have complained about the climate, the isolation, and Lane's iron discipline, and he admitted running short of food, in spite of all the supplies obtained in the West Indies, and having trouble with the Indians.

The one exploration which was carried out Lane also failed to describe, even though it brought about the first English knowledge of the Chesapeake. The story of this expedition must be largely conjecture, but it may be assumed that it was commanded by Philip Amadas, who had been in charge of the exploration of Albemarle Sound in August, and that he took the double wherry, a four-oared Thames River boat, capable of carrying about twenty men, brought along especially for this purpose, since Lane reports that he did not have this boat during the winter. If Amadas did not take the pinnace, he must have gone up to the head of the sound and then proceeded overland to Lynnhaven Bay, where the Chesepiuc tribe was located. Whether the party went by sea or by the inland route, their venture was a daring one, as they could not have taken many supplies along and must have had to rely on the friendship of the Indians. Fortunately, the Chesapeake tribes were hospitable as well as curious, and chiefs of neighboring villages came to visit "the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there," as Lane described it.

One reason the small group was willing to make this bold journey to the

Chesapeake was the great fear the English had inspired among the savages, who believed that they were immortal and had power to strike their enemies dead over vast distances, a belief confirmed by disease which seemed to follow in the wake of the English travelers. This fear, however, was gradually overpowered during the winter by the even greater threat of starvation, as Lane demanded a share of the Indians' scanty supplies of corn. At the first arrival of the colonists, the Indians, having plenty of food and little copper, had been happy to sell them food. By mid-winter, unfortunately, the situation was reversed. The Indians, having plenty of copper and little food, stopped trading, and Lane demanded that they supply him with food. With the death of Granganimeo, the good friend of the English, the situation became more critical for them.

Wingina now hit upon a clever scheme to get rid of his importunate neighbors by getting them involved in a war with several tribes living some distance to the north, on the shores of Albemarle Sound. He sent word to these mainland tribes that Lane was preparing to attack them, while he told Lane that the savages were forming a confederacy against him. Lane's bold action frustrated this plan. Taking with him forty men, he sailed north through Albemarle Sound and up the Chowan river to Chawanoac, where an Indian assembly was being held. His sudden appearance overawed the Indians, who promptly abandoned whatever hostile intentions they had and entered into a league of alliance with him. Lane held the lame Chawanoac chieftain, Menatonon, prisoner for two days, later exchanging him for his son, Skyko, who was sent to Roanoke Island as a hostage.

Lane found Menatonon a very wise man but never suspected how shrewd he really was, for the Indian told him a couple of stories calculated to appeal to English cupidity and lure his captors on to possible death. One was a tale of pearls to be found to the north in a region which Lane did not recognize as the Chesapeake; the other was an account of a fabulous mine to be found to the west, up Roanoke River. Lane and his men decided to search for the mine, proceeding up the river through the territory of his new allies. Instead of welcoming him, however, the savages took to the woods with their corn, and after three days of rowing upstream he had food left for only two more days. Asked for their decision, the men voted to go ahead, regardless of the food situation, but two days more brought only a flight of arrows from some invisible Indians, who escaped into the woods. At this point the boats headed back downstream, the men living off stewed dogs and sassafras soup until they reached Roanoke Island.

The safe return of Lane's party from what Wingina had expected to be certain destruction temporarily restored the Indians' belief in the supernatural powers of the English. This belief was strengthened a few days later when delegates arrived from another Indian village to take their oath of allegiance

to Queen Elizabeth. As a result, the frightened savages tried to win the friendship of the English by constructing weirs to supply them with fish and planting corn fields for them. Unfortunately, the death of old Ensenore, a relative of Wingina's who had been favorable to the English, caused another shift in Indian policy. Growing tired of Lane's daily requests for food, which he was afraid to deny, Wingina withdrew to the mainland and devised another plot for getting rid of the English, inspired in part by Wanchese, who seems to have been jealous of the favor shown Manteo.

The first step in the plot was the breaking up of the Englishmen's weirs to deprive them of food, since the colonists were incapable of repairing them themselves. This stratagem succeeded in dividing Lane's forces, as he was compelled to send twenty of his men down to Croatoan Island to live there and incidentally watch for the expected supply ships; another ten were sent with the pinnace to Port Ferdinando for the same purpose. Wingina next sent messengers to the neighboring tribes, offering them part of his accumulated horde of copper in exchange for their aid against the English. When the Indians had assembled, ostensibly to attend a funeral service for Ensenore, the attack was to be launched in typical Indian fashion. The savages planned to slip up at night and set fire to the thatched roofs of the English huts and slay the colonists as they came running out.

The conspiracy might have succeeded had it not been for Skiko, Menatonon's son. On an earlier occasion Skiko had attempted to run away, whereupon Lane had chained him up and threatened to cut off his head until Wingina interceded for him. After the boy was released, he was allowed to visit Wingina, who took him into his confidence and revealed the plot. Skiko had by now, however, grown so friendly with the English that he came back to the island and informed Lane of Wingina's plans.

Forewarned, Lane decided to meet treachery with treachery. To lull Wingina's suspicions, he sent the chief a message asking to borrow some of his men for a fishing trip to Croatoan Island. Wingina promised to come over to Roanoke Island himself to discuss the arrangements, but put off his coming day by day in order to wait for the arrival of his savage allies. When news that the other Indians were beginning to appear reached Lane, the Englishman decided to attack. His intention was to wipe out the town on the island by an assault under the cover of darkness before going over to the mainland to slaughter Wingina. As a preliminary he prepared to isolate the island by seizing all the canoes to keep anyone from escaping to the mainland and giving the alarm. In the process of intercepting the canoes, the English overturned one of them and then, having picked the two Indians in the boat out of the water, they cut off their heads. Unfortunately, some other red men observed this incident from the shore and let loose a flight of arrows in retaliation. Although the Indians were quickly driven into the woods

by the return fire of the English, Wingina now had notice that hostilities had begun.

Undaunted by this miscarriage of his plans, Lane decided to go ahead as if nothing had happened. Next morning he and some twenty-five of his men made an apparently peaceful call on Wingina, ostensibly to ask him to go along on the proposed trip to Croatoan. When the English visitors had been shown into the presence of the savage chieftain and his followers, Lane called out, "Christ our victory," whereupon the English drew their pieces and shot down the unsuspecting Indians. Wingina fell at the first shot but in the midst of the general confusion which followed leaped to his feet and ran nimbly off into the woods. Lane's Irish servant, Edward Nugent, chased after him, however, and soon returned carrying the chief's head.¹² With the Indian menace thus crushed and the corn ripening on Roanoke Island with enough grain to feed the colonists for a year, the colony was at last on a firm foundation. Although Lane had accomplished nothing positive, he had kept his men alive for a year, and mastery of the art of survival was the first step in colonization of the New World. Moreover, Lane could now look forward to his great plans for exploration of the mines in the interior and the pearl country of the Chesapeake. There was only one question: Where were the supply ships that Raleigh was supposed to send?

Lane's question was to go unanswered until it was too late. The ships that Raleigh had intended to send immediately after Grenville's departure never set sail. At least one of them, the *Golden Royal*, was still being prepared for the voyage to Virginia as late as June, 1585, two months after Grenville's fleet had left Plymouth. About that time, however, news had reached England that Spain had laid an embargo on English shipping, and the queen instructed Raleigh to send a warning to the English fishermen off Newfoundland not to take their catch to Spain. Raleigh was forced to divert the *Golden Royal* from Virginia to Newfoundland for this purpose. Since Newfoundland offered far less promise for privateering than the West Indies, Elizabeth assigned Raleigh her share in the *Golden Royal* to make up in part for the financial loss he was expected to suffer.

The queen must have regretted her generosity, for the venture proved far more profitable than expected. On the way out the *Golden Royal* captured a ship from Brazil loaded with sugar and picked up seventeen Spanish vessels loaded with fish off Newfoundland. There it met Captain George Raymond in the *Lion*, on his way home from Virginia, and the two ships headed for the Azores, where they took four more prizes. Altogether the prizes netted more than £20,000, most of which seems to have ended up in Raleigh's pocket. One of the partners in the venture, at least, claimed that he was cheated out of his share of the profits.¹³

Meanwhile, Raleigh had also earned a substantial profit on the Virginia

enterprise with the aid of some more sharp dealing. Shortly after Grenville had sailed from Roanoke Island, he had run into a Spanish vessel, which turned out to be the *Santa María*, the flagship of the Santo Domingo squadron, which had been separated from the rest of the fleet. The doughty captain soon forced the Spaniard to surrender and boarded her in the only boat he had, an emergency craft nailed together out of the sailors' sea chests. The improvised boat held together just long enough for Grenville and his prize crew to get aboard and then collapsed. The Englishmen did not bother to watch its fate, for they discovered that they had taken a fabulously rich prize, loaded with gold, silver, and pearls, not to mention sugar and ginger, worth in all about £50,000. The *Tiger* got home first with the news, and, when Grenville brought his prize into Plymouth on October 18, 1585, Raleigh was there to meet him.

The two cousins apparently decided that there was no reason to share all this good fortune with the other investors. At any rate, a few days later Grenville was writing to Sir Francis Walsingham, one of the partners in the enterprise, warning him not to believe the tall stories circulating about the wealth on the *Santa María*. The treasure aboard, he said, "was imbesiled by the company"—which was true, strictly speaking, since Grenville was a member of the company. The ship was worth no more than £15,000, he reported, but there would be enough to pay off the entire cost of the expedition and return a modest profit on the investment. Walsingham's reply is not on record, but it is significant that he never again served as Raleigh's partner. The queen was too shrewd to be defrauded, however; Raleigh later complained that she insisted on having all the pearls as her share of the specially reserved profits.¹⁴

Even without these private spoils, Raleigh's Virginia venture had paid off handsomely, and he could well afford to keep it going. He began preparing a supply ship, but he could not get it ready until early in April. A month later Sir Richard Grenville followed with a squadron of six or seven ships. Even though he was late in getting started, Grenville could not resist stopping to take the prizes he encountered as he approached Spain, but he tried to make up for this delay by taking a short-cut, going only as far south as the Madeiras and turning there to go directly to Virginia.

Raleigh and Grenville had little reason to be in a hurry to get supplies to the colony, since they probably knew that Sir Francis Drake expected to reach Virginia before they could get there. Drake had sailed from Plymouth in September, 1584, an ambitious project in his head worthy of the vision of an Elizabethan Englishman. In addition to filling the Spanish hearts with fear and his own pockets with gold, he planned to penetrate to the far corner of the Caribbean to capture Cartagena, fight his way across the Isthmus of Panama, and establish there an English naval base on the Pacific to match

the one Raleigh was setting up on the Atlantic. He took with him supplies for his proposed colony, including parts for small ships which could be carried across the isthmus and set up on the other side to float on the Pacific. At Santo Domingo and Cartagena he collected settlers for his project, Moorish galley slaves, Negro slaves, and South American Indians.¹⁵

When sickness weakened his force, however, Drake decided to abandon the plans for the Pacific base and to use his prospective colonists to strengthen Raleigh's outpost instead. On the way north he stopped off at St. Augustine in Florida to destroy that Spanish town thoroughly while the frightened inhabitants took refuge in the woods. Everything that he could carry, down to the locks on the doors of the houses, he stripped off for the use of the colony in Virginia. At last on June 8, 1586, his ships appeared off Cape Hatteras with their dark-skinned reinforcements and extra hardware.

Captain Edward Stafford, stationed on Croatoan Island, saw his sails and, not knowing whether the fleet was English or Spanish, dispatched a warning to Lane at Roanoke. Meanwhile, Drake, discovering Stafford's fires, sent a boat ashore and picked up a pilot to take him to Port Ferdinando, where he arrived on June 10. Not trusting the dangerous bar in the inlet, Drake anchored his larger ships two miles off shore and from there sent word to Lane of what he had brought for the colony.

Lane was not interested in Drake's offer of more Indians, since he had already seen enough Indians for a while; moreover, he had decided to abandon Roanoke Island and its "bad harborough." What he wanted was to redeem his failure to find anything worthwhile by carrying out his plan of exploring the Chesapeake as a site for settlement before returning to England. He therefore asked Drake for what he needed for the proposed expedition: replacements for those of his men who were sick or unfit, adequate shipping, weapons, clothing, and sufficient food to last them until they could get back to England after spending the summer in the Chesapeake.

Lane was almost the only man left at Roanoke who wanted to stay any longer in Virginia. His soldiers had been cursing the climate, the diet, the hardships, the Indians, and Lane's strict discipline, and were eager to leave immediately. This discontent seems to have spread even among his officers, for Drake was apparently aware of it and promptly offered him the choice of going back to England, evidently expecting him to discuss this idea with his captains, as Drake always did. Lane did not call a council, however, but himself made the decision to accept Drake's alternative: the bark *Francis*, small enough to get in over the bar, together with another pinnace and several smaller boats and food enough for a month's exploration. By June 12 the *Francis* was provisioned, and some of Lane's own officers were aboard with their men, as well as the sea captains from Drake's fleet who had volunteered to stay in Virginia.

The next day, however, a hurricane arrived, threatening the safety of Drake's fleet, riding at anchor in the open sea. Anchors would not hold against the storm, and the *Francis*, along with several other ships, was driven out to sea, so far that she did not return and went on to England. When after four days the storm had passed, Drake was still willing to leave one of his ships for Lane's exploration, but the ship he offered was too large to get in over the bar. Even Lane was beginning to give up on Virginia by this moment, and he at last held a council to decide what was to be done. The vote was unanimous in favor of immediate departure, in view of the fact that Drake could not spare them a suitable vessel and that Grenville apparently was not coming with the expected supplies.

Lane therefore with some reluctance gave up his hopes of exploring the Chesapeake and asked Drake to take his men home. Drake's sailors, already irritable after ten months at sea, had by now grown as disgusted with Virginia in ten days as the Roanoke colonists had in a year. Sent to the island to pick up the belongings left there, they loaded their pinnaces so heavily that they stuck on the shoals in the sound and then threw the baggage over the side to lighten the ships. Lane lost his journals, Hariot the specimens he had collected; Hariot also mourned a pearl necklace he had assembled for the pearl-loving queen, which went into the sound along with a string of black pearls that Lane had received from Menatonon. Too impatient to wait for the return of three colonists who had gone up into the country, possibly to take Skiko home, the ships set sail on June 18. Heading for Newfoundland, they passed the Chesapeake without even noticing it and arrived in Portsmouth on July 28, 1586.¹⁶

Drake's fleet had scarcely left the Virginia coast before Raleigh's first supply ship arrived with its provisions. Her men searched in vain for the lost colonists and then, deciding not to wait for Grenville's expected arrival, took their supplies back to England. About a month later Grenville's squadron reached the abandoned fort. All he found were the hanging bodies of an Englishman and an Indian, apparently executed while the supply ship was there. Later he did succeed in capturing three Indians and, although two of them escaped, he managed to learn from the third that the colonists had left with Drake. Not having the benefit of Lane's experience, Grenville did not know whether he should reestablish the colony or leave it deserted. He finally compromised by putting eighteen men in the fort, along with four cast-iron cannon, hoping that they would be able to defend themselves against the Indians if the vanished savages should return.

With this problem settled, Grenville hastened off to his deferred privateering, but 1586 was not to prove so profitable as 1585. He reached the Azores without meeting a Spanish ship, and his crew became so sick that he went to Newfoundland for fresh supplies. Coming back to the Azores, he took

two small prizes and reached his home in Bideford in December. Along with his prizes, he brought back as a servant the Indian he had captured at Roanoke. The savage was baptised with the name of Raleigh and after his death two years later was given a Christian burial at Bideford. Grenville himself went on to London to see Raleigh, but he was assigned no part in the new Virginia venture which was already under way.¹⁷

Raleigh had not given up in despair after the return of the Roanoke colonists in July, even though there was every reason for abandoning the project. After two years of effort, there seemed to be nothing left in Virginia to show for it, and the discouraging stories told by Drake's sailors and Lane's soldiers of their troubles made it unlikely that anyone could be persuaded to risk either money or life on another voyage to the dangerous coast of Virginia. On the other hand, Raleigh was still financially ahead on the enterprise, even without counting the profits withheld by Grenville from the *Santa María*, and the reports brought back by Lane indicated that the Chesapeake might provide the deep-water harbor he needed as a privateering base. Moreover, at least three men who had been in Virginia—Ralph Lane, Thomas Hariot, and John White—still had faith in the future of a colony there. They seem to have persuaded him to try again; at any rate, he assured Hakluyt, worrying in Paris that Raleigh might give up, that he was determined to go ahead. As Hakluyt expressed it in poetic paraphrase: "You freely swore that no terrors, no personal losses or misfortunes could or would ever tear you from the sweet embraces of your own Virginia, that fairest of nymphs."¹⁸

Raleigh's plans for this newest effort to embrace his tempestuous mistress were already well formulated when he wrote to Hakluyt. As early as January 7, 1587, he had chartered the corporation of the city of Raleigh, naming as governor John White, who seems to have been the leading spirit in the enterprise and perhaps proposed the idea himself, along with twelve assistants. As the charter implied, Raleigh was not intended to be another fort, garrisoned by soldiers, like the one on Roanoke Island, but a self-sufficient "city," that is, a colony which would raise its own food and try to develop a suitable export from among those commodities that Hariot had studied in Virginia. It would thus support itself without draining Raleigh's purse and at the same time serve as a supply base for his privateers. For this reason the colony was to be located, not behind the treacherous Carolina Banks, but in the still unexplored Chesapeake.

To encourage volunteers Raleigh offered every settler a magnificent estate of 500 acres of land in the wilderness. He also attempted to undo the harm done to Virginia's reputation by the tales of the ex-colonists by encouraging some counter-propaganda. Hakluyt included in the dedication of his edition of *Peter Martyr* a condemnation of the Virginia critics, and Hariot prepared

his *Briefe and True Report* to extol the prospects of the colony. Before either of these works could be published, however, John White had rounded up enough colonists for the initial expedition.

Three boats, the *Lion*, probably the one used in 1585, a flyboat, and a pinnace, had been assembled for the 1587 voyage. John White, as governor of the colony, became captain of the *Lion* and admiral of the fleet, although this was apparently his first command at sea, or on land, for that matter. His second in command was the Portuguese pilot, Simon Fernandez, who seems to have considered White too weak and inexperienced for the chief post. Another veteran of Virginia, Edward Stafford, commanded the pinnace, and Edward Spicer was captain of the flyboat. Two or three of Lane's men were optimistic enough to make a second try at colonization, and Manteo and another Roanoke Indian used the opportunity to return to their homes. Of the hundred-odd other prospective settlers nothing is known save that Eleanor Dare, who accompanied her husband Ananias, was John White's daughter.

The expedition got off to an unfortunately late start. The ships left London about the end of March, lingered at Portsmouth for several weeks, spent another week at the Isle of Wight, and two final days at Plymouth before sailing on May 8, a month later than Grenville's departure in 1585. We can only guess at the reasons for the delay, but the wait at Portsmouth was probably for some late-arriving colonists, while the call at the Isle of Wight may have been to arrange for an expedition which was fitting out there to bring other settlers along. It is likely that White's inefficient management also caused repeated postponements.

If White's quarrel with the Portuguese pilot did not begin at Portsmouth, it was started by the time the squadron was off the coast of Portugal. There the flyboat became separated from the other two ships, and, although White wanted to wait for her, Fernandez insisted on going on. All through the West Indies the argument continued. The company landed on what Fernandez said was an uninhabited island; White found some Indian potsherds and decided the pilot was a liar. At another island the ships stopped to take salt. White, remembering Lane's alarm two years earlier in a similar situation, prepared an armed force to cover the landing, whereupon Fernandez, recalling how Lane had quarrelled with Grenville over the incident, decided the harbor was too shallow to enter. White wanted to go ashore at another place to gather pineapples and bananas for the colony, as he had in 1585, but Fernandez said they could get supplies later. As it turned out, whether it was the pilot's fault or not, the colonists failed to obtain salt, livestock, or any of the supplies Grenville had picked up for Lane in 1585.

At last, on July 22, the *Lion* and the pinnace anchored off Port Ferdinando, in order to stop and get a report from the men left there by Grenville a year

before. White momentarily resumed authority by putting forty men in the pinnace for the trip to Roanoke Island, but Fernandez recovered control by ordering the sailors to leave the men at Roanoke, as he could not take them on to the Chesapeake. White had delayed him long enough, the Portuguese decided, and it was high time for him to set out after the Spanish treasure ships. The governor put up no argument against this decision, possibly because he himself preferred to stay at Roanoke rather than venture into the unfamiliar Chesapeake and welcomed a good excuse for violating Raleigh's instructions.

At the fort White found only a whitening skeleton with no clue to what had happened to the other members of Grenville's party. Vines were growing in the empty houses, and deer browsed in the fort. The governor ordered every one to get to work at once repairing the houses and erecting new ones to provide homes for the families which had come. Two days later the flyboat showed up with the rest of the settlers, and the colony was at last reunited.

A warning of future danger appeared when a group of skulking Indians killed George Howe, one of the assistants councillors, while he was out after crabs. In order to obtain some useful Indian allies, Stafford took Manteo to his people on Croatoan Island. When the Croatoans learned that the English had not come to take their corn, of which they had but little, they became friendly and agreed to try to bring the chiefs of the other tribes in that region to Roanoke Island to make peace with the settlers. They also informed the English of the fate of Grenville's party. Wingina's Indians, they said, had enticed two of the men out and slain one of them. The rest had taken shelter in a house, which the savages set on fire. The Englishmen had then fought their way out, got into their boat and disappeared.

This was an ominous warning of the danger threatening the colony from Wingina's men, still lurking in their mainland village, and White made one of his rare decisions. Waiting meticulously for August 8, the day appointed for the Croatoans to bring in the local chiefs, he acted the moment it had passed without the appearance of the Croatoans. At midnight, with Captain Stafford, Manteo, and twenty-three other men, he started across the sound and just before dawn launched an attack on the Roanoke village from the land side, hoping to drive the savages into the water. This stratagem failed to work, for the Indians fled into the tall reeds growing along the shore, and only one of them was shot down. A moment later the colonists had reason to be thankful for their poor marksmanship; one of the savages called Captain Stafford by name and revealed that the people in the village were the friendly Croatoans, come to gather the corn abandoned by the Roanoke Indians, who had fled into the interior of the country.

This unfortunate incident was one more instance of the bad luck that seemed to follow every move White made. As in other cases, however, White

himself was at fault. In his first meeting with the Croatoans, they had asked him to give them some kind of badge of identification to prevent anything like this happening, as Lane's men had also fired upon them by mistake, but the governor had done nothing about it. Nevertheless, Manteo was able to convince his fellow tribesmen that their failure to keep their promise to come to Roanoke Island the day before was responsible for the misunderstanding. The faithful Manteo was given his reward a few days later; after he had been baptised a Christian, he was made Lord of Roanoke Island by the order of Sir Walter Raleigh.

On Monday, August 18, the governor's heart was gladdened by a long-expected event; his daughter, Eleanor Dare, was delivered of the child she had been carrying since the city of Raleigh was first incorporated. John White had become a grandfather, possibly for the first time; it seems to have been Eleanor's first child. In any case, it was the first Christian child born in Virginia, and the following Sunday it was christened Virginia Dare, in the midst of a violent northeast gale. The storm came up just as the ships were getting ready to return to England and drove the *Lion*, with half of its crew ashore, out to sea for six days, before it could get back to Port Ferdinando and pick up the rest of its sailors.

Meanwhile, a curious debate had broken out among the settlers, which is unintelligible as John White describes it for us and was perhaps never understood by him. By the charter issued to the colony twelve assistants had been named to serve with John White as a sort of advisory council. Three of these had remained in England, George Howe had been killed, and another, Fernandez, intended to go back home with the *Lion*. That left seven assistants at Roanoke Island, among them White's son-in-law, Ananias Dare. Some one at this juncture, probably White, proposed that one of the assistants should be sent back to England to look after the interests of the colony and presumably to keep an eye on the untrustworthy Fernandez. White finally talked Christopher Cooper into accepting the responsibility, but the next day Cooper changed his mind and refused to go.

At this point someone must have had a clever idea. It was probably clear to everybody, perhaps even to John White himself, that, although the governor was honest, lovable, and enthusiastic, he was unfit for leadership. He had most recently demonstrated his indecisive nature by proposing, after the colonists had got all their goods ashore on Roanoke Island and repaired the houses there, that the settlement be moved into the interior. What the reasons were for this change, nor indeed whether it was his own idea, he does not tell us, but there must have been some who considered the move unwise. At any rate, the assistants, along with all the settlers, hit upon the plan of satisfying White's request for a representative in England by sending

the governor himself back home, thereby relieving themselves of his inept command.

When the entire company appeared on August 22 to nominate him as their agent in London, White was dumbfounded. He argued that he would be criticized at home for deserting his colonists after leading them into the New World wilderness. Moreover, he insisted, his property would be damaged or destroyed through neglect during his absence, as had already happened during his raid on the Roanoke village. Therefore, he concluded, he would not go himself. The next day, Saturday, the assistants came back, some of the women joining their entreaties to the men, with a promise to give bond for the protection of his property. White at last surrendered, and on Monday the colonists gave him further assurance by drawing up a formal document, declaring that he had agreed to go only on account of their "importunacie."

The governor hastily packed his baggage for departure, locking away in three chests what he did not want to take with him, his books, his framed pictures and maps, and his armor, all of which were safeguarded by the colonists' bond. On Wednesday morning he left Roanoke Island and reached Port Ferdinando just in time. The *Lion* had returned that very day after the storm and was ready to sail, while the flyboat had already crossed the bar and was standing out to sea. White boarded the flyboat at midnight, leaving the *Lion* to Fernandez, and once more justified his reputation as a Jonah. When the flyboat attempted to weigh anchor, the capstan bar broke, and the whirling capstan knocked down and injured twelve of the fifteen members of the crew. The disabled flyboat, leaving Fernandez to his privateering in the Azores, attempted to get home alone, only to run into another northeaster, which blew them backwards for six days. Just when everyone expected to die of thirst and famine, the flyboat sighted land, which turned out to be the west coast of Ireland. After doing what he could for the surviving members of the crew, White took passage on the *Monkey* for Southampton, where he arrived on November 8, learning that Fernandez had reached port three weeks before, prizeless, and with a crew so weakened by disease that it could not bring the *Lion* into harbor.¹⁹

By November 20 White was in London, turning over his letters and reports to Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh immediately prepared letters to the settlers, promising them further supplies, and ordered a pinnace sent out at once with his letters and the goods they had specifically asked for. The pinnace was held up, however, until it could go out with the squadron Grenville was preparing at Bideford. Meanwhile, in view of the impending threat of the Spanish Armada, the queen had forbidden all vessels to leave England in order to keep shipping at home to meet the attack, but Raleigh counted on his influence to enable Grenville to get away in spite of the ban. On February 27, 1588, he sent strict instructions to his half-brother, Sir John Gilbert,

in Devon, that no ships were to be allowed to depart, but he added a private postscript: "Such as I acqwaynted yow withall to whom I have given leve you may lett them steale away."²⁰

Elizabeth, however, could not afford to spare the ships Raleigh had assembled, among them her own *Tiger*, now refitted and ready for action, regardless of the needs of the Virginia colonists or Grenville's thirst for Spanish prizes. Undeceived by Raleigh's professed intentions of enforcing the ban, the lords of the Privy Council on March 31 wrote directly to Grenville, ordering him to keep his ships at home, in readiness for Drake's orders. Although the fleet was thus halted just on the eve of departure, Grenville was permitted to send any ships Drake did not need to Virginia. He therefore assigned two pinnaces, the *Brave* and the *Roe*, for the Virginia voyage, and on April 22, 1588, the governor set sail for Roanoke Island with fifteen new colonists and supplies for the settlers already there.²¹

White soon discovered that the pinnace crews had learned greed in Grenville's service, if nothing else. The boats had not reached Land's End before they had begun stopping every vessel they met, without bothering to notice what flag it flew, with unfortunately little profit. The situation changed when the *Brave*, on which White was traveling, got separated from the *Roe*. Since a partner was essential in privateering, the *Brave* had to avoid other vessels until it could make contact again with the *Roe*, but in this it was unsuccessful. Two French ships caught up with the pinnace, and a boarding party took the ship after a bloody fight in which White himself was wounded three times. The Frenchmen showed mercy on the survivors by leaving them the ship and enough biscuit to get back to England, although they did take along the Spanish pilot, Pedro Diaz, who had been captured by Grenville aboard the *Santa María* in 1585 and welcomed this opportunity to get out of English hands. There was nothing left for White to do but to return, and he arrived in Bideford Bay exactly a month after he had departed. Several weeks later the *Roe* also appeared, bringing back the four or five colonists who had intended to go to Roanoke.²²

This abortive venture ended the effort to get supplies to Virginia in 1588. No more ships could be spared with the Spanish Armada approaching, and both Raleigh and Grenville were occupied until fall in the queen's service. Two English privateers belonging to John Watts did get to the West Indies that summer and continued on to Newfoundland, but there is no reason to believe that they called at Roanoke Island. During the following winter a new attempt was made to get support for John White's city of Raleigh. A syndicate of nineteen persons was organized to furnish financial backing for the colony. Among the members were William Sanderson, husband of Raleigh's niece and Raleigh's business agent, Thomas Smith, father of the Sir Thomas Smith who was to refound Virginia in 1607, and Richard Hakluyt. In return for

supplying the colony the syndicate was to be granted the right of free trade in Virginia for seven years. John White had also been active during the winter, for he had added a new assistant and dropped three of the original ones, including, of course, Fernandez.²³

Although this new agreement was formally drawn up on March 7, 1589, the necessary investment was not forthcoming to send an expedition to Virginia that year. A number of privateers did leave for the West Indies, but there is no evidence that any of them was asked to call at Roanoke Island. This idea did occur to John White early in 1590, since the syndicate still had not raised enough money to send its own ships. John Watts had another privateering expedition ready in the Thames in January when another embargo was laid on shipping. The governor then asked Raleigh to use his influence to get the queen's permission to let Watts's ships sail on condition that they take him, his supplies, and his new settlers to Roanoke.

After the royal license had been obtained, arrangements with Watts were completed by William Sanderson, whether in behalf of Raleigh, the syndicate, or himself it is not known. Watts was supposed to post a bond that he would carry out the terms of the agreement, but this does not seem to have been done. Apparently Watts reached a personal understanding with Sanderson, whereby one of Sanderson's ships, the *Moonlight*, would be allowed to go along on the expedition in return for taking over the burden of carrying White's supplies. If this was the understanding, John White was not informed of it, for he was indignant when Watts refused to put aboard anything but his chest, not allowing him to take along even a servant boy to wait on him.

The governor sailed on the *Hopewell*, the admiral of Watts's squadron, commanded by Abraham Cocke. The vice-admiral was the *Little John*, captained by Christopher Newport, another name destined to be famous in later Virginia history, while the third ship was a pinnace, *John Evangelist*. The three vessels sailed out of the Thames before the *Moonlight* was ready, leaving her to catch up with them in the West Indies. The *Moonlight*, commanded by Edward Spicer, who had been captain of the ill-fated flyboat which had taken White back to England in 1587, picked up a partner, the pinnace *Conclude*, and brought her along to join the rest of the fleet on July 2. By that time the early arrivals had already acquired three prizes. After spending several weeks more in privateering, the *Hopewell* and the *Moonlight* headed north to Virginia, the other ships having already sailed for home.

As they neared the Carolina Banks, White's bad luck returned. The hurricane season had begun, and the ships were buffeted by storms for a week. When the weather cleared, they stopped at Wococon, where Grenville had wrecked the *Tiger* in 1585, for fresh water and fish. On the night of August 12 they anchored at Croatoan without noticing any sign of human

life, and on the 15th they reached Port Ferdinando, where they saw the encouraging sign of smoke rising from Roanoke Island. The next morning, having fired several cannon shots to announce their arrival to the settlers, White and the ship captains went in to the inlet. On their way they noticed smoke rising from Hatorask Island to the south and decided to investigate that first. When they finally reached the fire, which proved to be much farther away than they had thought, they found no sign of human presence, and it was then too late to go to Roanoke Island that day.

Next morning the two boats put out from the ships once more and encountered rough water. A wave engulfed the *Hopewell's* boat, but it got ashore safely. The *Moonlight's* boat overturned, however, and eleven men, including Captain Spicer, were drowned. Although the sailors wanted to abandon the enterprise after this accident, Captain Cocke and White talked them into going on. By the time they reached Roanoke Island it was dark, but, seeing a fire in the woods, they rowed to that spot and sang English songs to attract the attention of the colonists without getting any response.

At daybreak they landed to discover that they had been serenading a brush fire and then went on to the fort. On the shore they found carved on a tree the letters C R O, which White took for the agreed-upon notice of the spot to which the settlers had decided to move. The meaning of the letters was explained a little farther on, where the word was carved out in full: C R O A T O A N. It was encouraging to see that there was no cross, which was supposed to be used as a signal of distress, indicating that the colonists had not been in difficulties at the time they removed to Croatoan Island.

There was evidence that the settlers had not decided to leave immediately after White's departure in 1587. They had surrounded their houses with a palisaded fort, built of high posts; then, when they moved, they had taken the houses down and carried them along, presumably to Croatoan Island. They had also taken with them their supplies and the smaller cannon, leaving behind them only the four cast-iron guns Grenville had put ashore in 1586 and their bars of iron and two pigs of lead, intended for the casting of bullets. They had also left behind five chests, which they buried in the trench of Lane's old fort, as the sailors with White discovered. Unfortunately, the Indians had discovered them first and looted them. Three of them were the ones White had left in 1587, and he found his books torn out of their covers, his picture frames spoiled by the rain, and his armor eaten through with rust.

Since another storm was now coming up, the party hastened back to their ships and managed to get aboard by nightfall. The next day Captain Cocke agreed to go back to Croatoan Island to see the settlers, but, with the wind blowing them against the shoals, they lost two anchors and were almost driven aground, being saved only by good fortune. Since supplies were running low, Captain Cocke decided to go back to the West Indies; if they could get

enough food there, they would return in the following summer. The wind, however, forced them to change their course for the Azores and eventually to England. On October 24, 1590, the *Hopewell* dropped anchor in Plymouth harbor.²⁴

Although John White never gave up the idea that his settlers were still alive on Croatoan Island, there is no record of his having made any further efforts to get back to Virginia. He retired to his estate at Newtown in County Cork, which he left from time to time to visit England and his "very friend Master Richard Hakluyt," perhaps still talking of ideas for reviving the Virginia project. Hakluyt, ever eager to collect more material for his *Principal Navigations*, persuaded him to prepare an account of his "last voyage into the West Indies, and partes of America called Virginia." He did so, thus giving us the only account we have of the final visit to Roanoke Island, and sent it to Hakluyt on February 4, 1593.²⁵ The rest of his life is as unknown to history as the fate of his "lost colony."

Today we still know no more about the vanished settlers than John White did, but from what we know about similar colonies, we can perhaps make a more accurate surmise. It is quite clear, as White saw, that they had decided to move to Croatoan Island, where they expected to count on Manteo, whose mother may have been the "queen" of the Croatoans, to keep the Indians friendly. The step was probably caused by a food shortage during the first winter. Although White does not tell us what supplies they had, the difficulties in the West Indies indicate that they did not get as much food there as Lane's men had, and Lane's party would have starved if their captain had not extorted corn from the savages by force.

Since the local Indians had fled and the Croatoans were the only other tribe White's colonists were acquainted with, it was natural for them to turn to Manteo's people for help. Their reception must have been friendly at first, because it would have taken many trips in the pinnacle to move the supplies and the houses fifty miles across the sound. The reason why they did not make the final trip to recover White's chests is also clear. The Croatoans were short of corn in August, as they told the governor, and they cannot have had enough to feed a hundred extra mouths in December. Sooner or later, in spite of Manteo, there must have been a general massacre of the whites. Since the Indians usually saved women and children, perhaps little Virginia Dare grew up to be a savage squaw.

WHITHER THE LOST COLONY?*

There have been many words written and much speculation as to the fate of the colonists left behind at Roanoke by Governor White in 1587. The

* What follows is appended by the Editor.—R.D.W.

theory which has had most publicity—and which, in the humble opinion of this writer, is most improbable—is that they left the Island and joined the friendly Croatoan Indians on the Banks southwest of present Cape Hatteras, for so the carved name they left behind would indicate. The proponents of this theory have believed to see the descendants of this racial fusion in the so-called “Croatan” Indians of recent years in Robeson County, North Carolina, because of their Anglo-Saxon names and fancied survival of Elizabethan speech in that area. It is permitted to be somewhat skeptical of this hypothesis in the absence of more substantial support than has been heretofore adduced—the name applied to this group is obviously a result of the theory, the assumption of English names by non-British peoples is a thing we witness every day, and the speech question would certainly be deserving of more investigation than has apparently yet been made by Elizabethan speech experts. On the other hand, the first settlers at Jamestown recorded various reports on the subject of the Roanoke colony which, while in no way solving the mystery, seem deserving of more attention than has been accorded to them. Let us examine in detail the accounts given by Smith, Strachey and others in the early days at Jamestown, just twenty years after the “Lost Colony” was last seen at Roanoke.²⁶

Captain John Smith has been praised by some, discredited as boastful, arrogant and untruthful by others; he told a fanciful story of his capture and imprisonment by Powhatan. Among other things, he said, in speaking of the Great Chief, “What he knew of the Dominion he spared not to acquaint me with, as of certain men at a place called Occanahonan, clothed like me,” that is, wearing European apparel.

A little later, the chronicler Samuel Purchas reported that “Powhatan confessed that he had been at the murder of that Colony [of Roanoke] and showed a musket barrel and brass mortar and certain pieces of iron which had been theirs.”

William Strachey, Secretary of the Colony, told of an account by Machumps, Powhatan's brother-in-law, of two places called Peccarecamek and Ochanahoen where “the people have built houses with stone walls, one story above another, so taught them by those English who escaped the slaughter at Roanoke . . . and where the people breed up tame turkeys in their houses and take apes [probably opossums, as before noted] in the mountains and where at Ritanoë, the weroance Eyanoco preserved seven of the English alive—four men, two boys and a young maid (who escaped and fled up the river of Chanoke*).” These conditions prevailed, said Strachey, “at what time this our Colony, under the conduct of Captain Newport, landed within the Chesapeake Bay.”

* Obviously Chawanook, modern Chowan.

Smith reported further that the chief of the Paspaheghs agreed to lead two of his (Smith's) men "to a place called Panawick where he reported many men to be apparelled [in European garb]." They landed at Warraskoyack, said Smith, but there the Chief acted evasively and held out for more recompense and they finally had to return without finding out anything. The spot was shown on an early map as being somewhere between the Roanoke and the Tar (or Pamlico) Rivers, and was labelled "Here the King of Paspahagh reported our men to be and wants to go," and showed nearby the legend "Pananiock." On the same map was this legend near the upper Neuse River: "Here remaineth four men clothed that came from Roanoke to Ocanahawan." The Virginia Council reported on this matter, in 1609, "the intelligence of some of our nation planted by Sir Walter Raleigh, yet alive, within fifty miles of our fort . . . as is testified by two of our colony sent out to seek them, who (though denied by the savages speech with them) found crosses and letters and characters, and assured testimonies of Christians, newly cut in the bark of trees."

Back to Strachey's account again: he said that James I "hath been acquainted that the men, women and children of the first plantation at Roanoke were by practice and commandment of Powhatan (he himself persuaded thereunto by his priests) miserably slaughtered, without any offence given him either by the first planted (who twenty years had peacefully lived intermixed with those savages, and were out of his territory) or by those who now have come to inhabit some part of his desert [uninhabited] lands, and to trade with him for some commodities of ours, which he and his people stand in want of . . ."

Making allowances for inaccuracies in reporting and inconsistencies in fact, there are several things that emerge from these accounts: First, upon the arrival of the Jamestown settlers, there were still living members of the Roanoke colony at an undetermined point in the southwest, dressed in English-style clothing and living in English-style dwellings. Second, the new arrivals were told about them and were given physical signs of them, but were not allowed to speak to them. Third, they had lived in harmony, intermingled with the natives of that area for twenty years (1587-1607). Fourth, probably urged by a superstitious fear of the consequences that might result from their contact with the new arrivals, Powhatan had them put to death.

It is not feasible to identify the localities mentioned in these accounts with actual known places shown on maps or given in other stories. Occanahonan may have been anywhere in the upper reaches of the Roanoke, Tar or Neuse Rivers; it has been suggested that Panawick may have been Panawaioc, rather uncertainly placed on the south side of what may have been Pamlico River on White's map of 1585. It will be recalled that the land of Chawanook was approximately south of Warraskoyack, a little over fifty miles from

Jamestown, and what intrigues us most is the saving of some of the white people from the slaughter, and the "young maid" who escaped by fleeing up the Chowan River—north into Warraskoyack country. In truth, as Dr. Schlegel suggested above, Virginia Dare—then twenty years old—may have grown up to live the life of a native girl, as indeed she was!²⁷

One of the most interesting accounts—somewhat earlier than the settlement at Jamestown—is contained in the *Archivo General de Indias* at Seville. While adding nothing to the solution of the mystery, it shows the Spaniards believed the English were still in Virginia then. This account is in the form of a report from the Governor of Florida, Gonzalo Mendes de Canço, dated 28 June 1600 and containing a deposition made by an Irish mercenary of the St. Augustine garrison named David Glavin or Gland. The latter told briefly the story of the Lane and White expeditions of 1585 and 1587, which account—while differing in some details from Lane's and White's reports—is remarkably accurate in essentials. Glavin told of being taken from a ship out of Nantes and brought to *el Jacán* by Ricardo de Campoverde,* who was in command of a fleet of nine vessels. One hundred and fifty settlers were landed at 36° north latitude, where they set about making bricks for a fort and houses. They stayed there a year and a half, said Glavin, when Francisco Draque** came and took them back to England. He heard the Queen was much displeased because the Colonists were brought back and had a new expedition prepared consisting of two ships and 200 men and women. Glavin was again forced to go along but this time he and another Irish soldier escaped on the coast of Puerto Rico. He stated that he considered the English were then (1600) still in *el Jacán*, and the Governor added a postscript indicating that the town of *el Jacán* was called "Virginia" by the English. As noted above, the details are somewhat inaccurate: Granville had only seven ships, the Lane colony only 102 men, and stayed at Roanoke only ten months; the White colony—the "Lost Colony"—sailed in three ships and had only 123 men and women. But the essentials were there and the Florida Governor's informant is identifiable: in the roster of Lane's colony of 1585 appears the name Darby Glande, and John White noted in his account on 1 July 1587 off the coast of Puerto Rico, "We left behind two Irishmen of our company, Darbie Glaven and Dennis Carrell." This clearly refers to the same person, even though the Spaniards had difficulty with the English and Irish names.²⁸

In spite of the above and other facts—both expressed and implied—that are known concerning the Lost Colony of Roanoke, the fate of those pioneers in the founding of Virginia seems destined to remain clouded in mystery.

* Sir Richard Grenville, whose name was also spelled "Greenfield."

** Sir Francis Drake.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XXX

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. Lewis and Loomie, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-72*, pp. 10-11.
2. Lewis and Loomie, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-48.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-55.
6. Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590*: I, 95, 97, 106. This work brings together all the surviving documents relating to the Roanoke colonies and is the principal source of all statements made in the rest of this chapter. The major documents are also reprinted in modernized English in Lorant, *The New World*: which also contains John White's drawings, reproduced in color. See pp. 125-133 for Barlowe's narrative, the source cited here.
7. Quinn, *op. cit.*, I, 108.
8. *Ibid.*, 119.
9. *Ibid.*, 158-160.
10. See White's drawing in Lorant, pp. [195], 241.
11. Lane's letters are found in Quinn, I, 197-214.
12. Lane's *Discourse on the First Colony* is in Quinn, I, 255-294, and in Lorant, pp. 135-149.
13. Quinn, *op. cit.*, I, 172, 234-242.
14. *Ibid.*, 169-171, 231.
15. *Ibid.*, 251-252.
16. For an account of these events see Lane's *Discourse*, cited above, Walter Bigges's account of Drake's expedition (Quinn, I, 294-303), and the *Primrose* journal (Quinn, I, 303-312).
17. The sources on the 1586 voyages are found in Quinn, I, 465-495.
18. Quinn, *op. cit.*, II, 514.
19. All the documents bearing on the 1587 voyages are found in Quinn, II, 497-552. The interpretation of White's character given in the text is the responsibility of the present writer.
20. *Ibid.*, 560.
21. *Ibid.*, 554-555.
22. *Ibid.*, 555-556, 562-569.
23. *Ibid.*, 569-576.
24. The sources for the 1590 voyage are in Quinn, II, 579-716.
25. White's letter to Hakluyt in Quinn, II, 712-716.
26. Sams, *The First Attempt*, pp. 321-4; here are quoted the accounts by Smith, Strachey and others.
27. Lewis and Loomie, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia*, pp. 274-7; in their discussion of this same subject, these authors give some very interesting but inconclusive identifications of the places mentioned.
28. The Glavin deposition was translated by Katherine Reding in 8 G 214-228, which was reproduced in full in the *Lost Colony Program* of 1939; see also Sams, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-6, 505; and Lewis and Loomie, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

Chapter XXXI

The Refounding of Virginia: Jamestown, 1607-1634

By Marvin W. Schlegel

FOR A DECADE after John White transmitted his account of the 1590 voyage to Richard Hakluyt interest in Virginia seemed to languish. Although Raleigh made no further effort to send another colonizing expedition to the New World, he managed by keeping his claims under his patent alive to exclude any attempts by other Englishmen. Only with the death of his patron, Queen Elizabeth I, in 1603 was the situation changed. When the new monarch, James I, came down from Scotland to occupy the English throne, he sent Raleigh to the Tower on the charge of treason and confiscated his property, including his Virginia patent. At the same time James also brought the war with Spain to a conclusion, thus ending the privateering ventures in the West Indies and forcing the merchants to seek new ways of earning profits on their accumulating capital.

Almost at once the "Virginia fever" began racing across England. With the terrible tales told by Lane's men long since forgotten, people remembered only the rumor of the fabulous mine which Lane had not been able to find. A new colony would discover the gold, not to mention that passage to the Pacific just beyond the mountains; meanwhile, the settlers could live at ease off the great plenty of natural resources described by Barlowe and Hariot. Dreams grew so grand that a popular play of 1605, *Eastward Ho*, mocked these great expectations. One of the characters reported of Virginia:

"I tell thee gold is more plentiful there than copper is with us; and for as much red copper as I can bring I'll have thrice the weight in gold. Why man, all their dripping pans and chamber pots are pure gold; and all the chains with which they chain up their streets are massy gold, all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold; and for rubies and diamonds they go forth on holidays and gather 'em by the seashore to hang on their children's coats. . . ."

So eager were investors to win profits from the New World that one company could not contain them all. On April 10, 1606, King James I issued a charter to two companies, known as the London and the Plymouth companies, after the cities in which their chief promoters lived. Both groups were per-

mitted to settle in Virginia, but not within a hundred miles of each other, and each company was to be granted the land fifty miles north and south and a hundred miles inland from the site of its first settlement. The colonists were guaranteed, as in previous charters, that they would retain all the rights and privileges of Englishmen. An autocrat like King James did not intend, of course, that these rights should include self-government. All power was to be retained by the king, who was to appoint a council to govern all of Virginia, councils to govern each company, and councils to govern each colony.¹

Although the Plymouth Company was destined to abandon its enterprise after a freezing winter on the Maine coast, the London Company was endowed with greater perseverance and more abundant financial backing. At its head was the greatest merchant prince in all England, Sir Thomas Smith, son of the Thomas Smith who had offered support to John White in 1589. Since Smith was also head of the highly profitable East India Company, his reputation won the confidence of other investors. Another leading member of the London group was Richard Hakluyt, still full of ideas for the successful colonization of Virginia. Among the others were Edward Maria Wingfield, one of the four persons mentioned by name in the royal charter, and Bartholomew Gosnold, who had explored the northern coast of America in 1602, and was one of the leading spirits in promoting the new venture.

The year of 1606 had almost passed before the expedition was ready to depart. In that time the necessary capital had been collected, supplies had been purchased, and about 120 prospective settlers enlisted. A third of them ranked as gentlemen, a loose classification ranging from members of noble families, like George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, to men of humble birth who had risen through their own efforts, like Captain John Smith, just back from a dramatic career as soldier of fortune in Central Europe. Among them were none of the scientific experts, such as Raleigh had sent along with Lane in 1585; the only one claiming special knowledge was Captain John Martin, who was supposed to know something about precious metals, since his father was Master of the Mint. In addition to skilled craftsmen, like James Read, the blacksmith, and common laborers, like John Laydon, there was a surgeon, William Wilkinson, and a clergyman, the Reverend Robert Hunt, destined to be the first Protestant minister to hold service in the New World.*

Settlers and supplies were loaded aboard three ships anchored in London. Largest of the three was the *Susan Constant*, captained by Christopher Newport, one of England's ablest seamen in spite of the fact that he had left his right arm in the West Indies on the 1590 expedition with John White.

* The christening of Virginia Dare at Roanoke in 1587 implies presence of a clergyman, though his name is not known; it has been suggested that he was Thomas Hariot. (Editor's Note)

Newport was placed in supreme command of the fleet while at sea in order to avoid divided authority; the names of the councillors who were to take charge in Virginia were kept under seal in a locked box, not to be opened until twenty-four hours after they had sighted the Virginia coast. The two smaller vessels were the *Godspeed*, commanded by Bartholomew Gosnold, and the *Discovery*, a pinnace commanded by John Ratcliffe.

At last, on December 20, 1606, the ships weighed anchor and dropped down the Thames, inspired by the splendid valedictory of Poet Michael Drayton, who after reading Hariot had composed an *Ode to the Virginian Voyage* for the occasion. He urged the settlers on:

Britans, you stay too long,
Quickly aboard bestow you,

* * *

And cheerefully at sea,
Successe you still intice,
To get the pearle and gold,
And ours to hold,
VIRGINIA,
Earth's only Paradise,

Where nature hath in store
Fowle, venison, and Fish;
And the fruitfull'st soyle,
Without your toyle,
Three harvests more,
All greater than you wish.²

Unfortunately, the voyagers had scarcely reached the mouth of the Thames before they ran into difficulties. They were forced to drop anchor in the Downs to wait for favorable winds, and it took them six weeks to get through the English channel. This was a disastrous delay, for it meant that they could not get to Virginia in time to plant crops for the 1607 harvest, and it also used up provisions intended for the colony. The cramped quarters created nervous tension and the first signs of factionalism. The Reverend Mr. Hunt, who apparently had Puritan tendencies, like many of the Virginia group, was criticized by "some few, little better than Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst us,"³ as John Smith's friends put it, presumably referring to Edward Maria Wingfield, who was accused of being a Catholic.

By the time the ships had reached the Canaries, following the usual southward route, quarrels had become more serious. Captain John Smith, who had vigorous opinions and was not hesitant in expressing them, had incurred the enmity of "some of the chiefe," and they accused him of a plot to murder the other leaders and take over command of the expedition. Mutiny at sea was

a serious crime, punishable by death, but fortunately Admiral Newport did not take the charges seriously. Instead of summoning Smith before a court martial, he placed him under arrest, postponing his trial until after the expedition reached Virginia.

With Smith under restraint a reasonable degree of harmony was restored, and the voyagers reached the West Indies on March 23, 1607. After spending some time there, hunting, fishing, getting fresh water and relaxing from the strain of three months aboard ship, they headed north and on April 26 reached their destination, Chesapeake Bay, the goal of English colonization since 1586. Landing on the cape, which they named Cape Henry after the Prince of Wales, they found "nothing worth the speaking of," as George Percy reported, but some savages who crept up on them out of the sand dunes and launched a flight of arrows at them as they were returning to their boats. Although Captain Gabriel Archer was shot through both hands, the Indians were quickly put to flight.

That night the box was unlocked and the seals broken on the document which contained the names of the councillors who were to govern the new colony. There were seven names on the list, the three ship captains, Newport, Gosnold, and Ratcliffe, Edward Wingfield, John Martin, George Kendall, and Captain John Smith, who was still under arrest. The council was not formally organized, however, as Newport was to retain sole command until settlement had actually begun.

The first step was to find a suitable site. Their instructions were to choose a navigable stream, one flowing from the northwest, if possible, since that was thought to be the most likely route leading to an easy passage to the Pacific. After exploring the river carefully, they were to select a spot which was high and dry and clear of trees, as far upstream as their ships could safely go, in order that they might more easily defend themselves against attack from the Spaniards. A broad river invited the colonists in the recommended direction as they ventured deeper into the Chesapeake, although they had difficulty in finding a deep enough channel through it. Finally their soundings revealed an excellent channel just off a point of land on the far shore, which they called Point Comfort. Proceeding farther up the river, which they named after their king, they came upon a spot which won the approval of Gabriel Archer and George Percy at least. Objection was made, however, that the water was too shallow near the shore for ships to unload conveniently, and Archer's Hope was therefore left behind. A few miles farther upstream they found another neck of land, where the deep channel came right up to the bank. Although the peninsula was low, wet, and covered with trees, it was well located for defensive purposes, and the colonists decided to build their town here.

On May 14, 1607, they began unloading their supplies and constructing

their fort. The council was now organized with the election of Wingfield as president and Gabriel Archer as recorder, or secretary. Although the other members refused to allow Smith to take his seat, he was permitted to accompany Newport as second in command of an expedition sent farther up the river. This exploration was soon halted by the falls of the James, which precluded any hope for the present of finding the Pacific. Returning to Jamestown, Newport's party learned that the local Indians had abruptly changed their previously friendly attitude and launched an attack on the settlers.

The situation was serious, for the colonists were going to be dependent on peaceful trade with the natives for their food. They had left provisions for little more than three months, even on short rations, and past experience indicated that supplies could not be expected from England before the following spring. In this emergency Newport stayed only until the palisade around the town was completed and sailed on June 21 with the *Susan Constant* and the *Godspeed*, leaving the pinnacle with the settlers. Just before his departure one important problem was solved. Smith's enemies, unable to convict him of treason, proposed to send him back to England, but he had won such popular support that he was admitted to his seat on the council instead.

As soon as Newport's ships were gone and the last ties with home were cut, the men left at Jamestown began to feel pangs of loneliness, surrounded as they were by a gloomy forest, peopled with treacherous savages. Isolation made the inevitable hardships all the more unbearable. Men grumbled at being forced to stand watch at the fort and complained even more loudly about their scanty rations. There was no meat, since they had no livestock and could neither hunt nor fish; by August, in fact, there was nothing but boiled barley. President Wingfield locked up the diminishing supplies of sherry and brandy, forcing them to drink water, the ultimate degradation for seventeenth century Englishmen. The Tidewater's oppressive summer heat was the crowning blow. One after another the colonists were laid low by sickness, and, before cooler weather had set in, nearly half of them were dead.

Perhaps the stern authority of a Ralph Lane might have prevented this disaster, but strict discipline was impossible with government in the hands of a council divided by factionalism. Gosnold quarreled with President Wingfield until he fell sick and died; shortly afterwards, George Kendall was expelled from his seat by his fellow councilors. Since Newport had returned to England, this left only four of the original seven, Wingfield, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and John Smith. When Wingfield attempted to exercise supreme authority, the three John's united to oust him from the council on September 11, electing Ratcliffe to his place as president. For a brief time, while both Ratcliffe and Martin were sick, the colony had a single commander, and

Smith used his authority to finish building houses for the settlers, many of whom were still living in tents.

Luckily, throughout this crisis the savages had let the settlers alone, and now that their corn crop was being harvested, they began bringing in food for trade. When the local trade slackened, Smith took the boat down to Kecoughtan to buy food and then ventured up the Chickahominy, purchasing more corn there. Although the supply situation was thus temporarily relieved, Ratcliffe proposed that he and Archer take the pinnace back to England after more provisions, but Smith and Martin talked him out of this excuse for flight. More forceful persuasion had to be used on the two deposed councilors, who were accused of trying to escape in the pinnace themselves but were halted by the cannon in the fort; on the evidence of the blacksmith, James Read, Kendall was condemned by a jury and shot.

With rebellion suppressed and food on hand, Captain John Smith took it upon himself to resume exploration in order to earn the favor of the company officials back in London, who would probably regard him with a critical eye after they learned of the charges which had been made against him. His first visit to the Chickahominy had aroused the hope that that stream might lead to the Pacific, and he set out with a small party along its winding course. Pushing ahead alone, except for an Indian guide, he was surprised and captured by a large hunting group of Chickahominies, who took him to their chief, Opechancanough. Instead of putting the prisoner to death, Opechancanough treated him as an honored guest and conducted him to the great chief, Powhatan, who received Smith in royal splendor. Powhatan, eager to get control of the lucrative trade with the Englishmen, invited them to settle with him and sent Smith back to Jamestown with the invitation.⁴

Captain John Smith was welcomed by the colonists, who had thought him dead, but Ratcliffe and Archer charged him with recklessness in causing the death of two of his companions and threatened to oust him from the council. Fortunately for Smith, Captain Newport arrived that very night from England, bringing with him among other new settlers a new councilor, Matthew Scrivener, and the charges against Smith were dropped. Smith took Newport around by water to visit Powhatan at his home on the York River and was much annoyed when Newport allowed the savage chieftain to outwit him in the trade which went on. Smith likewise did not approve the prolonged search for gold, which kept Newport in Virginia for three months and used up some of the precious supplies, but he kept his objections to himself out of loyalty to his superior officer.

On April 20, 1608, ten days after Newport's departure, the settlers were delighted to see another ship coming. This was the *Phoenix*, which had sailed from England with Newport, but had been held up so long by unfavorable weather that it had been given up for lost. It brought adequate

supplies, along with the rest of the 120 colonists who had been sent as the First Supply. Captain John Smith at once had the idea of using the *Phoenix* to go exploring again, but, when the master of the ship insisted that Smith go bond for his men's wages, the captain belatedly remembered that Newport was supposed to do all the exploring and dropped the plan.

Smith continued to exercise unofficial command of the colony, aided by the support of Scrivener and the weakness of Ratcliffe and Martin. Under his direction the town, which had burned down shortly after Newport's return in January, was rebuilt, and corn was planted. He also exercised a firm hand with the Indians, who were constantly pilfering tools. He seized sixteen or eighteen of them and held them prisoners, threatening them with death. When the Indians captured two Englishmen and kept them as hostages, he raided their towns and frightened them into returning their prisoners. Finally, Powhatan had to send his own daughter, Pocahontas, whom Smith admired very much, to obtain the captives' release.

Having successfully overawed the savages, Smith proceeded to handle his fellow councilors with an equally high hand. When Martin wanted to load the *Phoenix* with some ore which he thought contained gold, Captain Smith brushed aside his colleague's pretensions as a mineral expert and declared that a cargo of cedar wood would prove more valuable in London than Martin's "fool's gold." The disgruntled Martin thereupon decided to go back to England on the *Phoenix*, leaving Smith, with his loyal ally Scrivener, in control of the colony, since the weak Ratcliffe no longer had any real authority. Forgetting once more Newport's exclusive right to discoveries, Smith now decided to explore the Chesapeake. The purpose of this voyage was to locate a reported silver mine on the Potomac, which turned out to be only antimony. Talks with the savages, however, brought new rumors of the Pacific, but the search for the South Seas had to be temporarily postponed when Smith was poisoned by a sting-ray and forced to return to Jamestown.

There he found that Ratcliffe had resumed command in his absence, and the colony was once more troubled with dissension, not to mention the sickness among the unseasoned new arrivals. Although Ratcliffe had two votes by virtue of his office of president and thus could not be outvoted by Smith and Scrivener, even if the latter had not been too ill to take part, Smith ignored this technicality and ousted the president from his place, raising the sick Scrivener to that post. He then returned to his exploration of the Chesapeake, spending six weeks in probing the inlets and rivers until he was convinced that none of them led to the Pacific. The summer was not entirely wasted, however, for he did produce the first map of Virginia, which was published at Oxford in 1612.

Back in Jamestown once more, Smith was elected president for the first time on September 10, 1608, "by the election of the Councel," which con-

sisted only of President Smith and ex-president Scrivener. The new president was soon reduced to the same powerless state in which he had kept his predecessors. Newport, arriving with the Second Supply, brought two new councilors, Peter Wynne and Richard Waldo. Since Newport restored Ratcliffe to the council and even Scrivener was becoming restive under Smith's domination, the president was reduced to a minority of one. He expressed his indignation at his new status by arguing for the first time with Newport, whom he had previously portrayed as his father.

Newport had returned with instructions from the company in London to crown Powhatan as the vassal of the king of England, somewhat as Manteo had been made Lord of Roanoke twenty-one years before. He was also commanded to continue the search for the Pacific beyond the falls of the James, and he had brought with him a demountable boat, which could be taken apart and carried around the falls for that purpose. Smith objected to both of these ideas, perhaps because he was growing jealous of Newport and wanted to keep control of both the Indians and exploration in his own hands. His argument, however, was that Newport's proposals would endanger the colony's food supply; the gifts to Powhatan would encourage that chieftain to ask a higher price for his corn, while the venture up the James would prevent Smith from carrying out his intention of buying grain during the harvest season when the price was low.

Newport naturally dismissed these objections as trivial and carried out the company's orders instead. Nevertheless, Smith turned out to be right. Nothing was discovered in the explorations, and the colony was short of food. Newport had brought seventy more settlers, which, added to the 130 still remaining of the 225 who had come earlier, made two hundred in all to be fed, four times as many as during the preceding winter. Moreover, the crops of 1608 were poor, and Powhatan sent out orders to his people not to sell any to the whites. The president relieved his feelings over the difficult situation into which he had been put by penning a "rude answer" to the company in England, complaining about Newport and criticizing the company's policies, a letter which he probably had discretion enough not to send.

As soon as Newport had sailed, taking Ratcliffe with him, Smith acted vigorously to save the colony. By winning over Captain Waldo to add to his own double vote as president, he was able to outvote the other two councilors, Wynne and Scrivener, and once more dominate the colony. Setting out with the boats, he forced the Indians on the James to trade with him at the point of a gun and then moved around to the York where he was able to frighten both Powhatan and Opechancanough into surrendering some of their precious stores of grain. Before long the savages were so awed by his swaggering arrogance that they allowed the English to pass among them with perfect safety and even returned their stolen goods. Back at Jamestown Smith set

the colonists to hard work under strict discipline, aided by the fact that the other three councilors had died, and soon had the settlers grumbling as loudly at his stern rule as they had at Wingfield's a year earlier. The situation got worse when rot and rats ruined all the corn, and the Englishmen were forced to spend the summer like the savages, scattered through the woods, living off oysters, sturgeon, and tuckahoe bread. Fortunately, about the middle of July, 1609, an English vessel under Captain Samuel Argall appeared with supplies of wine and biscuit which were sold to the colonists.

Argall also brought news of the great plans which had been made in England for the future of the colony. Newport's third return from Virginia early in 1609 had convinced the London merchants that whatever profits could be derived from their venture were still far in the future, and they had therefore decided on a drive to raise enough capital to put the colony on a permanent basis. As an incentive to investment, they had obtained a new and more favorable charter, transferring control of the company from the king to the shareholders. The charter of 1609 greatly enlarged the territory granted to the company, giving it all the land two hundred miles north and south of Point Comfort and extending west and northwest to the Pacific; since the Pacific was still thought to be close at hand, no one realized that this grant gave Virginia a technical claim to an area larger than that of the present United States. The company also decided to put an end to the factionalism that had resulted from the multi-headed council at Jamestown by appointing a single governor to take charge; just to make sure that quarrels were ended, it was specifically written into the charter that the authority of President Smith should be terminated upon the arrival of the new officers in the colony.

Armed with the new charter, the company began as energetic a fund-raising drive as had ever been seen in England. Pamphlets flooded the country with propaganda in the spring of 1609, painting a rosy picture of the future of Virginia and drawing a careful curtain over the disease and dissension of its past. Religion and patriotism were both put ahead of profits; investors were warned not to hope for gold mines. "Adventurers" who risked their capital were offered the hope of a dividend after seven years; "planters" who risked their lives were promised a hundred acres of land when they had served the company for a like term. Before the end of May, 1609, more than 500 volunteers were ready to sail in nine ships, a larger expedition than all three earlier Virginia voyages put together. Included among them were many women and children, for, now that the colony was to be on a permanent basis, men were expected to take their families. Men of higher rank also took over. Heretofore the highest officers had been merely gentlemen; now two knights assumed command. A veteran naval officer, Sir George Somers, took precedence

as admiral over Newport, while the new "sole and absolute Governor" was Sir Thomas Gates, on leave from his post in the Dutch army.

In spite of all this thorough preparation the voyage of 1609 was to result in the worst disaster Virginia had yet experienced. Plague broke out on board ship, and at least thirty-two persons died of fever on the way. A West Indian hurricane scattered the fleet, and the *Sea Venture*, carrying all the new officers and 150 of the colonists, disappeared completely. When the surviving ships reached Jamestown in August, a new conflict over authority broke out, this time coming close to civil war. Smith's old enemies, Martin, Ratcliffe, and Archer had returned, and, since the new officers were lost, Martin and Ratcliffe resumed their seats on the old council. Having grown accustomed to ruling alone, the president objected to sharing power with his rivals, especially as he had reason to be contemptuous of their abilities.

Even though he had lost the popular support on which he had relied in the past, since many of the old settlers blamed him for the recent hardships and they were vastly outnumbered in any case by the newcomers, who had no reason to love him, Smith still attempted to run affairs single-handed. Perhaps to impress the need for his authority upon the new arrivals, he sent most of them in two groups, one to Nansemond and the other to the falls, where they were supposed to establish settlements.

Needless to say, both groups were soon in trouble with the Indians, and Smith went up the James to investigate conditions at the falls. Dissatisfied with the site chosen for the settlement, he bought the Indian village of the Little Powhatan from the chief and ordered the colonists to move there. Instead of moving, they mutinied and drove Smith out. The president then took refuge with the Indians, who suggested a joint attack on the rebels. Although Smith refused to lead the attack, the natives fell upon the settlers as soon as he had dropped downstream, whereupon he returned and persuaded the discomfited mutineers to move as ordered to the Indian village. Unfortunately at this moment, Francis West, whom Smith had appointed the local commander, returned from a visit to Jamestown and, after hearing his men's charges that Smith had instigated the Indian attack against them, West decided to take them back to their original fort.

His authority flouted and dangerously weakened, Smith lost whatever chance he had to recover control as the result of an accident on the way back to Jamestown. The explosion of his powder bag burned him severely and sent him jumping into the river in agony. While he was still sick, Ratcliffe and Martin took over and began investigating all the charges against him, and the general repudiation of Smith made it obvious that he would be convicted as easily as he had convicted others. Some of his still loyal followers urged him to overthrow the legal authority and set up a military dictatorship, but

Smith instead took ship for England and early in October, 1609, left Virginia forever.

Once again Captain John Smith's judgment was to be confirmed. Despite his overbearing self-assurance, he was the only able leader Virginia had yet produced, and leadership was essential for survival in the wilderness. Ratcliffe and Martin, mistrustful of their own abilities, chose first Francis West and then George Percy, both brothers of English lords, as president, but not even noble blood could suffice to guide the colony through the disastrous winter ahead. Supplies on hand were reasonably adequate, although as early as August Gabriel Archer had been concerned about the overly-optimistic reports of Newport, which had led to under-provisioning of the colony. The chief difficulty was that Percy could not control the unruly newcomers any better than Smith had been able to, and the food was consumed so lavishly at first that it soon ran short. On top of that war with the Indians cut off the usual trade and brought death to perhaps hundreds. Ratcliffe, attempting to emulate Smith and purchase corn from Powhatan at gun's point, was murdered with some thirty of his men; West, setting out with the other pinnace in search of food, deserted the colony and ended up in England. By the time the spring of 1610 had come, scarcely sixty persons remained at Jamestown of the 500 who had been in Virginia the previous fall.

This winter of 1609-1610 has always been known as "the starving time," because Captain John Smith so named it in his *Generall Historie*, emphasizing how badly the colony fared when it was deprived of his leadership. Nevertheless, no one actually starved to death, and at winter's end there was still some food left in the company's store. The diet was indeed as scant as it had been during the two previous winters, but the horrors of this year were enhanced by the tales of cannibalism which Smith related. The worst of these stories was the one about the man who killed and ate his wife, which was true enough but was not the result of starvation. When President Percy investigated the report, he found that the man had murdered his wife in a fit of jealous passion and then ate her flesh in order to conceal the evidence. Hunger was not his motive, as there was still plenty of food in the house—although no other meat. Ignoring Smith's jealous exaggerations, however, the winter was the most calamitous yet experienced in Virginia. Some four hundred persons died of Indian arrows, disease, and malnutrition, not so much for lack of food as for lack of discipline and leadership.

As the hungry colonists huddled in Jamestown in May, 1610, counting the days until their supplies would be exhausted, they were suddenly cheered by the sight of English sails in the James. The ships, they soon learned, however, brought no more food, but only the long-missing colonists lost in the *Sea Venture*. Cast ashore in the Bermudas by the hurricane, they had been the first to discover the charms of those islands as a winter resort. Instead of

hostile savages, they found succulent hogs to furnish them with pork and ham. Whiling away their time by constructing two new ships, appropriately called the *Patience* and the *Deliverance*, they had come on to Jamestown to learn that their shipwreck had saved their lives.

The new governor, Sir Thomas Gates, was aghast at the condition of his ill-fated colony. Without a John Smith to feed the settlers on oysters and tuckahoes, only one course was left; Jamestown had to be abandoned. Reluctantly Gates took the starving survivors aboard his little ships, with difficulty preventing them from setting fire to what was left of the fort, and sailed down the James, hoping that their tiny stock of food would hold out until they reached Newfoundland, where provisions might be obtained from English fishermen. Before they had passed Mulberry Island, however, a boat appeared with the news that supplies had arrived, and Gates took his people back up to Jamestown.

The new supplies were brought by the new governor, Lord Delaware, who had intended to sail the previous August but had delayed his departure until April, 1610. On June 10 he arrived before the fort and grimly surveyed the scene of the disaster. The palisade was down, the gates fallen off their hinges; the church was in ruins, many of the houses had been chopped up for firewood. The blockhouse offered the only safe refuge from arrows launched by Indians lurking in the woods. There was grain enough for the 300-odd persons in the colony, counting the 150 he had brought with him, but no meat, since he had expected to rely on the livestock shipped in 1609.

Fortunately, Lord Delaware had the qualities of leadership which the colony had lacked since the departure of Captain John Smith. He called the unruly survivors together, lectured them on the need for discipline, and set them to work. He sent Sir George Somers and Samuel Argall back to the Bermudas in search of hogs to replace the devoured livestock. With a new government organized and the colony under control, he sat down to pen a report to the company in London. In spite of the calamitous winter, he foresaw a brilliant future for Virginia and recommended that the company go ahead with its plans. With penetrating judgment he pointed out that the two chief mistakes had been sending men of poor character and failing to supply them with provisions to last a year. Then he sent Sir Thomas Gates back to London with the news.

Before Gates's arrival the men who had fled with West in the pinnace during the winter had reached England and spread such horrifying tales about the colony that the company, which had supposed the settlement on a firm foundation, was ready to abandon Virginia completely. Little was left of all the funds collected in the campaign of 1609, and there seemed scant hope that more money would be contributed in the face of the discouraging stories reported by West's men. Before making up their minds, the members of the

London council called in Gates and asked him to tell them frankly whether there was any use in risking more money in Virginia. He replied emphatically that he thought the colony could soon be put on a paying basis with exports of timber, sassafras, iron, wine, and silk.

Gates's enthusiasm decided Virginia's fate. The council agreed to conduct a second drive to collect contributions for the colony. Again it applied to King James for a new and more liberal charter. This charter, which was not formally signed until 1612, enlarged Virginia's boundaries to include the friendly Bermudas. It also made the management of the company more democratic by authorizing all the "adventurers" to meet in a "court and assembly" in London once each quarter to decide on company policy.

During the winter of 1610-11 pamphlets on Virginia again flooded England. Stories of the Bermuda adventures of the shipwrecked passengers praised the charms of the company's latest acquisition. The Bermuda tales incidentally inspired the popular dramatist, William Shakespeare, to turn the shipwreck into a play, which he called *The Tempest*. More importantly, the campaign succeeded in drawing enough money out of English pockets to keep the colony going. Every old adventurer had been called upon to contribute £37 10s., or three times as much as he had subscribed in 1609, and, although some failed to respond, enough new volunteers were found to bring the pledged total to £18,000 by the spring of 1611. In March Sir Thomas Dale, an officer on leave from the Dutch army, who had been named deputy governor, set sail with three hundred new colonists, and he was followed in May by Sir Thomas Gates with another three hundred men and adequate supplies.

Meanwhile Lord Delaware had been keeping the colony in hand in spite of a series of illnesses which kept him almost constantly in his bed. Although Argall and Somers failed to bring back the expected hogs from Bermuda, Argall discovered the fishing banks off Cape Cod and returned with fish. Argall also took the pinnace up the Chesapeake and opened trade with the Potomac Indians, since Powhatan's men still continued hostile. Supplies were also improved by the arrival of the *Hercules*, sent out by the company in December, 1610. Delaware set the colonists to work, rebuilding Jamestown, restoring the 1609 forts at the falls and at Point Comfort, and establishing two new forts on Hampton River. Unfortunately, he did not have the men to man these forts, as the "seasoning" had taken its usual toll of the newcomers, leaving less than two hundred alive. Before Dale could arrive, however, Delaware had found his sickness no longer tolerable and left the colony to George Percy, reaching England in time to meet Gates in the Channel on his way to America.

Virginia was not long in Percy's inept hands, since Dale reached Point Comfort on May 12, 1611, shortly after Delaware's departure. Dale at once

set to work to make the colony self-sufficient according to the new plans agreed upon in London. He reoccupied the two forts on Hampton River, Forts Henry and Charles, building cabins, clearing ground, and planting grain, sowing in four or five days more soil than the Indians had planted on the open meadows of Kecoughtan the year before. Proceeding up the river to Jamestown, he planted more grain there, set to work to repair the still-fallen church and to build a new wharf for the ships. In accordance with his instructions, he looked for a more healthful site for the colony's chief settlement, selecting a bend in the James ten miles below the falls. In three months he had become so enthusiastic that he was writing home to London a plea for 2,000 men next year, with whom he promised to take over the whole Chesapeake and make the colony self-supporting.

Part of Dale's confidence may have been due to the fact that his men had just foiled the one and only Spanish effort to intervene in Virginia. In June, 1611, a small Spanish ship, ostensibly in search of a missing vessel, entered the Chesapeake to spy out the condition of the English colony. The two officers, Don Diego de Molina and Ensign Marco Antonio Pérez, went ashore at Point Comfort with Francis Limbry, an English pilot in the service of Spain, and were promptly made prisoner by the soldiers at Fort Algernoun. A pilot named Clark then went aboard the caravel to bring it closer to shore, where it would lie under the guns of the fort, but the Spanish captain was too shrewd to be taken in by this stratagem. Instead he sailed back to Cuba with Clark after vainly trying to exchange him for the three men left ashore. Although Pérez soon died, the other two were held captive at Point Comfort until 1616, Molina occasionally smuggling out a secret report. Then Dale took both men back to England with him, but Limbry never reached his native country. Discovering that the pilot was an Englishman, Dale hanged him as traitor.

Meanwhile, Sir Thomas Gates had arrived in Virginia in August, 1611, and with his commission as lieutenant governor took over the chief command of the colony from Dale. With Gates's approval, Dale went ahead with his plans to build a new town, which he called Henrico in honor of the Prince of Wales, farther up the James. He surrounded it with a palisade and built another palisade across the neck of land behind it, to keep the cattle in and the Indians out. He drove the Appomattox Indians from their seat on the north side of the river bearing their name, calling this neck of land New Bermuda or Bermuda Hundred, while he also took over the neck on the south side, naming this Bermuda City. Other hundreds were laid out up and down the river and palisaded in until within a few years the Indians had been driven off the banks of the James.

At the same time that Gates and Dale were providing for the future food supply of the colony, they were insuring the preservation of law and order.

On his arrival Dale had proclaimed a strict code of law, derived from his military experience in the Low Countries, and known in history as "Dale's Laws." Severe indeed they were, even by the harsh standards of the times, but the experience of the "starving time" had shown the strict necessity for discipline. George Percy, who knew what it was like to try to control a lawless crew, was awed by Dale's sternness. Some, Percy said, he "in a moste severe manner cawsed to be executed. Some he appointed to be hanged, some burned some to be broken upon wheles, others to be staked and some to be shott to deathe; all theis extreme and crewell tortures he used and inflicted upon them to terrefy the reste for attemptinge the like. . . ." ⁵ Among those put to death was Geoffrey Abbots, a veteran soldier who had come over in the First Supply, become Captain John Smith's loyal sergeant, and had survived the "starving time," only to be executed for mutiny. Smith commented regretfully, "It seemes he hath been punished for his offences that was never rewarded for his deserts." ⁶

With rebellion suppressed, Gates and Dale gradually mitigated their harsh rule by concessions to freedom. The widespread cornfields, straggling along the river bank, could not be supervised enough to make them productive, since the colonists, who were working for the company, showed a human tendency to do as little work as possible. The governors therefore decided to improve production by introducing the spirit of private enterprise. Each man with sufficient responsibility was allotted three acres of ground to work for himself, for which he paid a rent of two and a half barrels of corn a year and one month's service. The rest worked the company's fields six hours a day for eleven months a year, being fed out of the company's stores in addition to what they could raise in their own gardens in their spare time.

The basic weakness of the colony from the standpoint of the company was that it still had not produced a profitable staple. The supply ships went home as in the first years loaded with timber, sassafras, and deerskins, worth scarcely enough to pay the sailors' wages. The glasshouse built in 1608 had long since tumbled into ruins, and the few tons of iron the colonists managed to produce were unloaded through the agency of Sir Thomas Smith on the East India Company. The silk grass harvested at Kecoughtan was fit only for rope, and wine made from the local grapes proved undrinkable, even in Virginia. None of the products on which the company had pinned its hopes had flourished.

No one had thought of raising tobacco, for, although smoking had been known in England since the days of the Roanoke colonies, it was still regarded as a passing fancy, and Sir Thomas Smith had taken no notice of the steadily increasing imports of tobacco from the Spanish West Indies. It was only an accident that among the 1609 castaways in the Bermudas was a pipe-smoker named John Rolfe, who found the tobacco grown by the Virginia Indians

too bitter for his taste. In search of a milder variety, he managed to obtain some seeds from the West Indies, which he planted in 1612. In spite of Rolfe's crudely experimental methods of cultivation and curing, he produced a smokable leaf, and in 1613 a number of his neighbors tried out the new crop, some of which was shipped to England the following year. In spite of its poor quality the London merchants were able to find a market for the Virginia tobacco, which at three shillings a pound was the most valuable export the colony had produced. Soon the settlers were all making tobacco with such concentration that Governor Dale had to order them not to neglect their cornfields.

Rolfe meanwhile was also helping the colony solve another important problem, ending the Indian wars which had continued intermittently ever since Captain John Smith had left the colony in 1609. In the spring of 1613 Captain Samuel Argall, who had returned to Virginia and been placed in charge of trading in the Chesapeake, had found Powhatan's favorite daughter, Pocahontas, visiting with the Potomac Indians. Seeing her as a valuable hostage to force the savage chieftain into submission, Argall had bribed the Potomac chief to inveigle her on board his ship, whereupon he carried her off to Jamestown, which she had not seen in four years. There she was to remain for a year as a not unwilling prisoner, a strikingly handsome princess in her scanty savage dress, winning hearts with her naïve ways and youthful somersaults. One heart she won was that of John Rolfe, a widower since the death of his first wife shortly after she reached Virginia in 1610. He wrote that with Pocahontas "my hartie and best thoughts are, and have a long time bin so entangled, and inthrallled in so intricate a laborinth, that I was even awearied to unwinde my selfe thereout."⁷ He became convinced that it was his duty to convert her to the Christian faith, and she was duly baptised Rebecca, the first Virginia Indian to be baptised since Don Luis, and the first ever baptised in Virginia.* Having won her soul, Rolfe then proceeded to win her hand, and about April 5, 1614, the couple were married at Jamestown. Although Powhatan did not come to the wedding himself, he sent his brother and two sons as witnesses and later agreed to a peace with the whites which was to last as long as he lived.

Although Governor Dale, left in full charge after the departure of Gates early in 1614, complained that the colony was being neglected, he was fortunate that new settlers had not been sent in large numbers since 1611. Virginia needed a respite from the annual flood of newcomers who perished so quickly from sickness and under-nourishment. Men on their private allotments could and did now raise enough grain to feed themselves, but their annual rents were too small to build up any reserves in the company's store.

* Manteo—like Virginia Dare—was christened at Roanoke: by whom? See footnote, page 332. (Editor's Note)

The colony continued to benefit by the company's neglect until Dale himself sailed for England in 1616, leaving the governorship in the hands of George Yeardley. Yeardley relaxed Dale's harsh laws with the inevitable result that factionalism once more began to reappear.

At the same time the company in England was beginning to have troubles of its own. The main reason it had not continued its efforts in Virginia was that it had not been able to collect on many of the pledges made in 1610 and 1611, in spite of law suits brought to enforce payment. In default of these promised funds it had resorted to other expedients such as trying an unsuccessful lottery. Some of the major investors, including Sir Thomas Smith, had formed new partnerships to carry on the colonization of the Bermudas and the tobacco trade with Virginia.

The other adventurers seem to have shown little interest in the management of the company until 1616, when the time arrived for the distribution of dividends on the joint-stock of 1609, promised at the end of seven years. By that time the memories of the disasters of the early years at Jamestown had been overshadowed by the prosperity of the Bermuda settlements and the promise of Virginia tobacco, and the investors were prepared to expect some profitable return. When the company instead asked them to pay in another £12 10s., the disappointed stockholders began complaining about mismanagement and special favors granted to insiders and demanded an investigation of the company's books, which were indeed in a state of confusion.

The confusion of the records, however, was due not to chicanery but to the even greater confusion of the company's finances. All its capital had long been spent, and it was now deep in debt. The only thing it could offer in return for the new assessment was fifty acres of land in Virginia, an offer it also made to any new investor. It also gave another incentive to private investment by promising another fifty acres of land for each person transported to Virginia, the birth of the headright system, which was to become the basis for the distribution of land in the colony for a century. Since it was necessary to go to Virginia to profit from this land, most of the persons accepting the offer at this time were old planters like Samuel Argall, Captain John Martin, and Ralph Hamor. The plan generally used was for several of the adventurers to pool their holdings in a single joint-stock and set up a large plantation worked by a number of servants on the same basis as the whole colony during its early years.

Argall himself went out in 1617 as governor, taking with him John Rolfe and his Indian bride who had come to England with Dale the year before, but Pocahontas died on the way down the Thames and was buried at Gravesend, her infant son Thomas being left at Plymouth. Argall on his arrival was much displeased at the loose ways the colonists had fallen into under Yeardley's administration. There were only four hundred persons in the

colony, fifty-four of them servants of the company. He found the church at Jamestown fallen down as usual, only a few houses still standing, and the streets planted in tobacco. He was horrified to see that the Indians had the run of the town and were being trained in firearms; Yeardley had even made a soldier out of one of them. Argall quickly restored discipline although not without many complaints from the colonists, who preferred their own independent ways. The next year 240 new settlers arrived, placing a heavy burden on the food supply, and Argall dispatched a warning back to England that provisions must be sent along with the "great multitudes" the company was planning to send in 1619.

The "great multitudes" were to be the result of a new policy which the discontented stockholders were forcing on the company and which brought about the ousting of Sir Thomas Smith as treasurer and his replacement by Sir Edwin Sandys. Instead of the fifty acres for an additional payment of £12 10s. offered in 1616, the company now more generously promised an immediate hundred acres for each £12 10s. paid in the past with another hundred acres to be given later. The same grants would also be given to the "ancient planters." The company also planned to free the settlers from its claim to their service and even to eliminate taxes by setting up four corporations or boroughs, James City, Charles City, Henrico, and Kecoughtan, in which three thousand acres would be reserved for the company and cultivated by tenant farmers, whose rents would cover the company's expense. In addition, 10,000 acres would be set aside as an endowment for a "University and College." The strict martial law of the past was also to give way to a more democratic form of government; each of the "boroughs" in the colony was to be permitted to elect "burgesses" to sit with the governor and his council in a general assembly. To put these new reforms into effect, the company sent out as governor George Yeardley, who had won popularity in Virginia by his liberal rule.

When Yeardley arrived at Jamestown in April, 1619, and took over the government from Argall, he issued a proclamation carrying out the company's orders. All those who had arrived before Dale's departure in 1616 were to be freed of further obligations to the company's service, and Dale's laws were now to be replaced by laws made by the settlers themselves. At the governor's summons the inhabitants of eleven plantations each chose two burgesses to represent them at the first meeting of the first democratically-elected legislature in America at Jamestown on July 30, 1619.

The General Assembly gathered in the church, which for once was not falling down, a tribute to Argall's administration. Establishing an American precedent, it opened its meeting with prayer, said by the Reverend Richard Buck, an "ancient planter" who had been one of the Bermuda castaways with Yeardley. The next step, also to become an American custom, was to swear

in the newly-elected burgesses and check their credentials. Captain Ward was challenged by Speaker John Pory on the ground that he was a "squatter," never having obtained legal title to his land from the company, but the burgesses decided that in view of his loyal service to the colony he should be allowed to take his seat, provided that he obtain a patent before the next meeting of the assembly. Governor Yeardley challenged the burgesses representing Captain John Martin on the ground that a clause in his patent exempted his men from obeying the colony's laws, and Martin was thus excluded. Having divided themselves into committees, the burgesses then proceeded to consider the charter sent out from England.

In their proceedings the burgesses demonstrated that Virginia had made remarkable progress in mastering the difficult art of self-government since the first years of dissension and mutiny. They took up the important question of land titles, asking about the validity of grants which had already been made. They pointed out that they could not pay quitrents in cash to the treasurer in London and requested that provision be made for them to be paid in commodities in Virginia.

Drawing up the first set of laws concerning the Indians to be enacted in America, they established a sound Indian policy. To protect the redskins from the whites, any oppression of the savages was forbidden, and, to enforce that rule, anyone going among the Indians was required to have a license from the governor or the commander of his plantation. To protect the whites from the redskins, the sale or gift of weapons to the savages was prohibited under the penalty of death, in spite of the fact that Governor Yeardley himself had been the first to give the Indians firearms, and the company was warned to be cautious in its plans for civilizing the natives, as it would be dangerous to have many of them in the midst of the English, unless they were kept under close guard. Out of the experience of twelve years the settlers had evolved the principles which were to govern the relations between the whites and the Indians as long as the Indians remained a threat.

The most delicate question the burgesses had to take up was colonial trade, since the company planned to continue the operation of its magazine, or company store, which had already stirred up the complaints which were to become standard with the Virginia planters over the next centuries: The merchants paid too little for tobacco and charged too much for the goods they sold. The council in London had attempted to adjust both grievances by limiting the mark-up on goods brought from England to a modest 25 per cent and fixing the price of tobacco at three shillings a pound for first class and half that for second class. The company had also relaxed its monopolistic control by permitting the private plantations, like Captain John Martin's, to ship their tobacco independently and by authorizing the settlers to purchase from individuals such commodities as the company store did not have. To

make sure that the company did not change this liberal policy, the burgesses were careful to turn what had been merely instructions to the governor into the law of the colony. At the same time they protected the company against poor quality tobacco by enacting the first tobacco inspection laws in America.

The General Assembly, however, shared the belief of the London backers that the tobacco boom was too good to last. One of the few things on which King James I and Sir Edwin Sandys agreed was that the colony could not be built upon smoke, and the best the planters hoped was that the tobacco fad would not die out before they had discovered some more profitable commodity. As a safeguard for the future, every settler was enjoined to put out each year six mulberry trees for the feeding of silkworms and ten grapevines for the production of wine. The planters were also requested to experiment with silk-grass, hemp, flax, and aniseed. Furthermore, every man was required to protect the colony's ever-scanty food supply by keeping on hand a barrel of corn per person.

The first meeting of the General Assembly was an auspicious beginning for what promised to be a golden age for the colony. The company under Sandys's vigorous leadership began a tremendous effort to turn into reality all of Hakluyt's dreams for Virginia. The old lottery was revived and pushed with such energy that it brought in £21,776 in three years; several thousand pounds were also subscribed towards the support of the College at Henrico and other charitable projects. As fast as the money came in it was spent to build up the colony. In the three years from 1619 to 1621 more than 3500 new settlers were sent out to Virginia by the company and investors in private plantations. Among them were many specially selected experts, like the winemakers of Languedoc, intended to bring Virginia wine to perfection, and the men from Hamburg, who were to set up sawmills to cut colonial lumber. A Frenchman from La Rochelle was enlisted to start a saltworks, and silkworm eggs were shipped to feed on Virginia mulberries. Shipwrights were sent to build ships, a new glass furnace and a pottery kiln were constructed. The biggest investment of all was in an iron furnace, on which some five thousand pounds were spent.

Sandys' program showed magnificent vision, but it was carried out with such reckless optimism that only uninterrupted good luck could have rendered it successful. Instead Sandys encountered almost uninterrupted ill fortune. To keep costs down, emigrants were crowded into ships with inadequate supplies with the result that they got sick on the way over and starved after they arrived. Although no one bothered to record the number of deaths, the 3500 immigrants of 1619-1621 produced a net increase of less than 300 in the colony's population; making allowance for those who returned to England, the figures still indicate that nearly nine out of ten newcomers died within a year. It was an incredible casualty rate, one which would have

earned any general a court martial on a field of battle, but for Sandys the tragic figures for each year were only a challenge to send out replacements next year, when everything was bound to go better. Even from the grim standpoint of economics, however, the loss was one the company could not afford; paying for ten servants and getting only one meant costs were insupportably high. The fine experiments in the company's fields all languished, and even tobacco did not grow there, as the colonial officers appropriated the surviving tenants as their own allotment, leaving none for the company.

On top of this came another blow when Parliament abolished the lottery in 1621, depriving the company of its chief source of revenue. When the tobacco trade became subject to royal taxation in 1619, a large share of the profit from that commodity was diverted into the king's pocket, and the king further restricted the trade by limiting tobacco imports. When the Sandys faction in 1622 attempted to solve this problem by contracting to collect the tax for the king, the group was denounced by its enemies for attempting to monopolize the tobacco trade, and the contract was canceled.

While this controversy was still going on, news arrived in England of the greatest disaster that had yet struck the colony, the famous Indian massacre of 1622. Ever since the marriage of Pocahontas in 1614 the colonists had been living on such a friendly basis with the savages that they had even forgotten their own warning to the company in 1619. Not even the death of old Powhatan made any difference, for his successor, Opechancanough, preserved the peace. Opechancanough was cordial enough to discuss religion with George Thorpe, who as governor of the College lands was responsible for the conversion of the Indians. Thorpe built the chief an English-style house with a lock on the door, which the savage king delightedly locked and unlocked a hundred times a day, but was not able to persuade Opechancanough to be baptised. In spite of the failure to Christianize the savages, the whites welcomed them into their homes on a basis of social equality, inviting them to sit at their tables and sleep in their beds. Plantations straggled up and down the river without any regard for defense, since the Indian menace seemed to have ended.

Murders and thefts there were still occasionally, but these were quickly settled by a brief show of force, and the one which occurred early in March, 1622, seemed no different from its predecessors. A stalwart Indian, known to the whites as Jack of the Feather and famed among the savages for his magical power to escape injury from English bullets, had set out on a trading expedition with a man named Morgan and a few days later returned to Morgan's house wearing Morgan's cap but without Morgan. Two of Morgan's young servants charged Jack with murdering their master and in the midst of their cross-examination wounded him fatally. When Opechancanough protested at the murder of one of his chief men, the new governor, Sir

Francis Wyatt, refused to give him any satisfaction on the grounds that Jack deserved his fate, and the savage chieftain apparently accepted this reply.

Secretly, however, Opechancanough was plotting a terrible revenge. On Good Friday morning the Indians at his command treacherously attacked the settlements all along the James. The unsuspecting George Thorpe was among the first to fall, still believing the savages meant no harm. Altogether 347 persons were slain in the first attack, including Captain Nathaniel Powell, who had come in 1607 and survived all the earlier hardships. The settlements around Jamestown were saved from surprise through a warning given them by a Christianized Indian. Fortunately, too, the Indians had grown so unaccustomed to war that they quickly ran away whenever they encountered any resistance.

As long as the colonists remained on their guard, they did not need to fear a renewed attack, but the problems of defense required concentrating the population. All the settlers left on the outlying plantations were ordered to abandon them and move to a few selected strong points. This meant abandoning their fields and even their livestock, since there were not enough boats to transport the cattle. The result was a food shortage, and the colonists were once more reduced to living off oysters. On top of that 800 newcomers arrived, and 600 of them died during the summer.

Among the arrivals that year was Captain Nathaniel Butler, who, having just finished a term as governor of the Bermudas, decided to visit Virginia to see how the sister colony was progressing. Arriving at that disastrous moment, he was horrified at what he found in contrast to the rosy picture the company had been painting in England. On his return home he wrote a report on *The Unmasked Face of Our Colony in Virginia*, full of exaggerated criticism. The company hastily produced a reply, denying Butler's charges, but the old Smith faction was already demanding an investigation. On May 9, 1623, a royal commission was appointed, which accused the company of doing nothing to help the settlers in their dangerous condition. Stung into action, the Sandys group subscribed £4,000 to send supplies, the first money the investors had been called upon to pay into the company since Sandys had taken charge, but they were too late to help themselves, if not the colonists.

In July, 1623, the royal commission made its report, bringing out the facts about the high death rate and the unhappy condition of the colonists who remained alive. With some degree of unfairness, they blamed the state of affairs on the Sandys management and recommended a restoration of the original plan of 1606, which preserved royal control of the government of the colony. The king thereupon offered the company a new charter, which would allow it to retain its property rights but transfer the government to the king. The Sandys group, however, resolved to fight the contest out in the courts, rejecting the king's offer by an overwhelming vote in October.

In order to gather evidence for the legal battle, James appointed five commissioners, including two future governors, John Harvey and Samuel Mathews, to go to Virginia. Their arrival in the colony created alarm among the settlers, since the king's commissioners attributed the difficulties to too much "popular" government both in the company and in the colony and the king therefore could be expected to abolish the general assembly. The assembly in defense of the Sandys group drew up a *Tragical Relation*, condemning the Smith administration. "And rather then to be reduced to live under the like Govment," they told the king, "we desire his Ma^{tie} that Commissioners may be sent over, wth authoritie to hange us."⁸

The assembly's appeal did not save the company, for the king was resolved to "liberate" the settlers from the company's rule, whether they wanted to be liberated or not. In May, 1624, the chief justice of England upheld the king's right to seize the charter. The Sandys group petitioned the House of Commons to come to their aid in this constitutional battle, but the Commons obeyed James's request "not to trouble themselves with this petition." In June the courts forced the company to surrender its charter, and the king appointed a commission to take over the government of Virginia.

Sandys' followers, however, still refused to abandon their fight. When James's death in March, 1625, brought an automatic end to the Virginia commission he had appointed, they attempted to persuade the new king, Charles I, to restore their powers and to that end prepared a statement of their case, the well-known *Discourse of the Old Company*. Charles offered them the same proposal that his father had suggested in 1623, but the adventurers complained that they could not invest money in Virginia with security unless they could control its government. The question was revived again in 1631 with the same results. By that year, however, the colony itself had become opposed to the restoration of the company, and, when the question was brought up again in 1639, the assembly decreed that any settler who advocated such a measure should be subject to the confiscation of his entire estate.

The reason for this remarkable transformation in public opinion in Virginia was a series of happy accidents which kept the king from interfering in the colony's affairs and left the settlers free to govern themselves. When James I took over in 1624, he continued Governor Wyatt in power as a temporary measure. When Charles I succeeded to the throne, he was too busy to pay attention to Virginia and allowed Wyatt to remain with the same authority as before. When Wyatt retired in 1626, Charles appointed former Governor Yeardley to take his place with instructions to continue the same form of government as before until such time as the king could take up the study of Virginia. As it happened, Charles I was to lose his head before he

ever turned it to this subject, and Virginia benefited from a period of salutary neglect.

In the same way the General Assembly managed to survive the threat of imminent death through the loyal support of Wyatt and Yeardley. The instructions given by James I in 1624 did not specifically continue the assembly but on the other hand they did not specifically abolish it. Wyatt therefore compromised by having the people elect delegates to a convention, which met with the council as the House of Burgesses had done and was recognized as an unofficial law-making body. Yeardley himself went to England in 1625 to ask for royal acknowledgment of the right to choose a House of Burgesses, but Charles did not yield until 1627. At that moment, when he was financially hard-pressed, he decided to ask the colony to grant him a monopoly of the tobacco trade and authorized a General Assembly to be chosen to consider his request. Although the assembly rejected the proposal, the colony thereafter considered this permission as recognition of the legal existence of the assembly and continued to elect burgesses without any further requests for royal approval.

The custom of these years likewise strictly limited the powers of the governor. Under the easy-going ways of Yeardley and Wyatt, the governorship had been reduced from the dictatorship it had been under Delaware and Dale to a mere presiding office, as it had been under the instructions of 1606. Practice required him to be bound by the decision of the majority of the council and even deprived him of the double vote the president of the council had had in 1606; the governor voted only in case of a tie. These customs were to confound the first non-Virginian royal governor, Sir John Harvey, who considered them nonsensical, and had finally to be shipped back to England as a prisoner for defying the council's authority.

The colony quickly learned likewise to handle its economic affairs without the company's helping hand. The company had, in fact, ceased its efforts to send settlers after the suspension of the lottery in 1621, and immigration thereafter was financed privately. Although the company had intended to stop the headright subsidy to immigration in 1625 and the king did not authorize its continuance, the colony kept it going until it was at last given royal recognition in 1634. With the headright system providing them with both land and labor, the colonists forgot the other dreams of the company days and industriously cultivated tobacco, laying the foundation for future prosperity.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XXXI

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. The charter is printed in Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 46-63, as are most of the other documents dealing with this period; still others are included in his *First Republic*. In addition to Brown, the two important sources are Arber and Bradley, eds., *The Travels and Works of Captain John Smith* and Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*. For the ordinary reader the most important documents are brought conveniently together in Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625*.

Since the facts in this chapter are so well known, footnotes have been kept to a minimum. In this chapter, as in the preceding one, the dates throughout are given according to the Old Style, or Julian, calendar, in use in England and the English colonies until 1752; for the New Style, or Gregorian calendar, add ten days to the date given. Contemporary English practice, which began the New Year on Annunciation Day, March 25, has been disregarded in favor of the modern custom of beginning the year on January 1; in other words, events occurring between January 1 and March 25 have been dated in the new year, rather than in the old one.

2. Brown, *op. cit.*, I, 86.
3. William Simmonds, *Proceedings of the English Colony*, in Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
4. This account follows the story as told in Smith's *True Relation*, written in April, 1608. The story of how Powhatan threatened to kill him on this occasion only to be persuaded by Pocahontas to save his life appears for the first time in his *Generall Historie*, written in 1624. Those who prefer the more romantic version insist that Smith forgot or concealed the incident in his original narrative.
5. Quoted in Hatch, *The First Seventeen Years: Virginia, 1607-1624*.
6. Smith, *Generall Historie*, Book IV, in Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 303.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 425.

Chapter XXXII

The Jamestown Exposition and Festival and the Norfolk Naval Base

1907-1917-1957

THE COINCIDENCE OF the constantly recurring number "seven" in dates connected with Lower Tidewater is truly remarkable.¹ Thus the year 1957 was the "even-number" anniversary for many happenings of importance to this area. In previous chapters we have noted, for example, the 370th anniversary of Raleigh's grant to Sir Thomas Smith, White's voyage to Roanoke, the planting of the "Lost Colony," and the birth of Virginia Dare (1587); we have also called attention to the 350th anniversary of the landings at Cape Henry and Point Comfort, the explorations of Hampton Roads and James River, and the founding of Jamestown (1607). Other such anniversaries of lesser importance—but not less interesting—could be added: for instance, the 460th anniversary of Cabot's voyage (1497); the 430th anniversary of the first "Padron general" map of the Atlantic coast (1527); the 340th anniversary of the death of Pocahontas, of the founding of the two important plantations of Smith's Hundred and Martin's Brandon, of the accession of Governor Argall, and of the erection of the first permanent Anglican church building at Jamestown (1617); the 330th anniversary of the death of Sir George Yeardley (1627); the 320th anniversary of the establishment of the Upper and Lower Counties of New Norfolk, and of the first grant for the land which was later to become the site of Norfolk Town (1637). In this concluding chapter we wish to pause for a while to commemorate two more important dates: the 50th anniversary of the Jamestown Exposition of 1907 (itself the 300th anniversary of the Jamestown Settlement), and the 40th anniversary of the establishment—on the Exposition site—of the great United States Naval Base of Hampton Roads in 1917.

The site chosen for the Exposition of 1907 had taken on great local historical and strategic importance with the passage of the years. It was one of the first harbor sites viewed by the first settlers after they had landed at Cape Henry in April, 1607, and lay on the path of exploration of Captain John Smith in the following year. The first land grant here was in 1620 to Captain William Tucker, Commander of Kecoughtan (Hampton), where his principal residence was. Within a few years other grants were made, and

by 1635 three individuals had settled here, whose names will serve as a perpetual memorial though their recognizable descendants have long since disappeared: Thomas Willoughby is remembered in the name of the bay and beach to the north of the United States Naval Air Station; Francis Mason, in that of the creek whose mouth (now filled in) was on Willoughby's Bay at Breezy Point; and Henry Seawell gave his name to the point which came to be known as "Mr. Seawell's Pointe" before 1640. On this point was built—starting in 1638—the first parish church in Lower Norfolk County, the site of which was near the main gate of the United States Naval Base, though its exact location has been lost in new construction. Mr. and Mrs. Seawell were buried before February, 1644/5, in the chancel of this little parish church near their home at Seawell's Point. They were allied by marriage to the Mason clan by the marriage of their daughter to Mason's son, and in the fourth generation the marriage of a Mason daughter to a Willoughby son united the blood lines of all three of these early settlers.*

Though the Willoughby, Mason and Seawell names are still with us, other names which were early associated with this area have disappeared. There was Thelaball's Creek, a branch of Mason's Creek where Chambers Field (formerly East Field) now is; there was Boush's Creek where old Chambers Field is; and farther to the south there was Tanner's Creek which now goes by the glamorous title of Lafayette River. James Thelaball and Samuel Boush were respectively brother-in-law and son-in-law of Colonel Lemuel Mason, and Daniel Tanner of Canterbury was an early (a. 1637) settler on the creek which formerly bore his name.

Seawell's Point was connected with Hampton Town by a ferry as early as 1705, and this service across Hampton Roads was not discontinued until 1957 with the opening of the Hampton Roads Bridge-Tunnel system. One of the earliest public roads in Lower Norfolk County was Seawell's Point Road, second in age only to Princess Anne Road; it was, as its name indicates, the road to Seawell's Point. It branched off the road from Norfolk Town to Lynnhaven River—Princess Anne Road—at the place now called Fox Hall, followed a northward route through Old Town Crossing (now Norview Five Points) to a point where it turned westward and is now disguised under the name of Little Creek Road. From there it followed the latter's present course to what is now Hampton Boulevard with the exception of one four-block stretch where the road was straightened, leaving a part of the old road to the north that is now called Brantham Road. At Hampton Boulevard it continued straight across at its intersection with Daniel Avenue and through the corner of Cloncurry Road and Wilson Avenue, turning north where a

* Col. Lemuel Mason (d. 1702) and Ann Seawell (d. 1706); Thomas Willoughby IV (d. 1753) and Ann, daughter to Thomas Mason (d. 1711). For more complete details, see Chapters X and XI.

section of about three-eighths of a mile survives under the name "Old Sewells Point Road" near the Standard Oil docks and can still be seen on City Planning Commission maps. From there it continued north by east crossing Hampton Boulevard at Ninetieth Street and entering the present Naval Base near where Bacon Avenue reaches its south boundary.

As the center of population moved away from the Bay Shore and up the rivers and creeks, Seawell's Point lost its importance as the County's ecclesiastical center. A "chapel of ease," built on Elizabeth River in 1640, became parish church about 1655, and the former church at Seawell's Point was reduced to chapel status at that time. Soon the original 1638 building was abandoned, when a new chapel—the Tanner's Creek Chapel—was built (1661), a scant two and a half miles from the Seawell's Point site, at the head of Thelaball's Creek, five-eighths of a mile north of Seawell's Point Road. Henry Seawell, Jr., still owned land at the Point in 1665 which he sold then to James Wishard, later of Little Creek in Princess Anne; this same site in 1712 came into the possession of Lewis Conner.

As has been noted elsewhere, Hampton Roads saw much naval activity during the Revolutionary War, not by the Continental Navy which was busy elsewhere, but by the Virginia State Navy. In the waters within view of Seawell's Point, the vessels of Virginia's Navy operated: *Raleigh*, *Liberty*, *Patriot*, *Scorpion*, *Tartar*, *Dragon*, *Tempest*, and many others. Seawell's Point witnessed the exploits of the Captains of this little Navy, such as Edward Travis, John Calvert, Richard Taylor, Caleb Hunter, Eleazer Callender and many others. Special mention in this regard should be made of Commodore James Barron of Hampton, senior officer of the Virginia State Navy, father of two Commodores, United States Navy, and grandfather of a Captain, C.S. Navy.² Commodore James Barron, Jr., will be recognized as Captain of the frigate *Chesapeake* during her unfortunate encounter with H.M.S. *Leopard* in 1807, and one of the principals in the duel in which Commodore Stephen Decatur lost his life in 1820.

One of the most daring naval exploits of the Revolution took place off Seawell's Point in 1781. This had to do with the escape of the privateer *Marquis Lafayette* from Nansemond River, where she was built, through the whole British fleet then anchored in Hampton Roads and out the Virginia capes. This ship was built within a half mile of Suffolk and owned by the firm of Willis Cowper & Company of that place; she was commanded by Captain Joseph Meredith and her first lieutenant was John Cowper (son of one of the owners) to whom we are indebted for her story. She was still on the stocks when the British under General Leslie arrived in Hampton Roads in October, 1780, and was hastily launched and scuttled to avoid capture. The ship was immediately raised by the British and taken to Gosport for fitting out, but General Leslie was ordered to evacuate Virginia and she was

scuttled again. Raised by her owners, she was taken back to Nansemond River and fitted out, and was ready for the sea when the British under Benedict Arnold arrived in December. She was at this time placed under command of Captain Meredith and, though designed to carry twenty-six guns, was armed with only twelve six-pounders and manned by a crew of forty.

The *Marquis Lafayette* remained in Nansemond River until May, 1781. Early in that month, Captain Meredith and a Hampton pilot, Ross Mitchell, reconnoitering the British fleet, found them as follows: a ship-of-the-line, a frigate and a sloop at Newport News, two frigates and two sloops off Hampton bar, three men-of-war at the entrance to Elizabeth River near Seawell's Point, and several vessels near Old Point Comfort. In addition, there were eighty to a hundred transports and merchantmen anchored all over the Roads. On a moon-lit night with a strong ebb tide running, this daring skipper, with the aid of the pilot, steered his vessel through the combined British fleet and out the Capes to safety. Moving in complete silence—all conversation was forbidden—they passed within a quarter mile of the frigate off Newport News, and close enough to the transports to hear talking among their crews. Then proceeding by Old Point Comfort, they were hailed by a very large ship at anchor near Willoughby's Point, but no answer was given. In a very short time the *Marquis Lafayette* had cleared Cape Henry, and was off on the beginning of a successful—though short—career in the Atlantic.³

Within view of Seawell's Point—just four miles away—was fought the battle of Craney Island in June, 1813. The Confederate batteries at Seawell's Point—clearly marked on the 1863 map previously given—successfully stood off Federal naval attack in 1861, and remained unsilenced until abandoned when Norfolk was evacuated by Southern forces in 1862. These batteries were on both sides of the west end of what is now Admiral Taussig Boulevard; their remains were photographed for an album of views of Norfolk, published in 1902, and it was then noted that they consisted of "old cannon balls and broken cannon." Also within view of these shores was fought the first battle of iron-clads between C.S.S. *Virginia* (*Merrimac*) and U.S.S. *Monitor* in March, 1862.

Apparently the first time the founding of Jamestown was commemorated was in 1807, its bicentenary. In mentioning this, Yonge quoted from a "Report on the Proceedings of the Late Jubilee at Jamestown, Virginia." Another celebration was held on the occasion of its 250th anniversary. This was on 13 May 1857 on Jamestown Island itself, and those gathered there to participate in the celebration heard an address on the historic site and its significance by former President John Tyler.⁴

Credit for originating the idea of a Tercentenary Exposition at or near Norfolk has been generally given to James M. Thomson, then owner of the

Norfolk Dispatch which later combined with the *Ledger*. In May, 1901, Mr. Thomson wrote a letter to City Councilman John G. Tilton suggesting the creation of an official committee for promoting the idea. This was a very few short months after the Virginia General Assembly had authorized Governor J. Hoge Tyler to entertain bids for the honor of holding the Exposition in several parts of the State. "An organization soon was formed and an agreement reached with representatives of the communities around Hampton Roads to stage the exposition at Sewells [sic] Point," according to a recent newspaper article by Frank Sullivan. There was, of course, competition from other sections, but it was soon withdrawn in favor of the Hampton Roads site.⁵

Meanwhile the Norfolk real estate operators had not been idle. In June, 1901, there was recorded the plat of a development to extend from Tanner's Creek (Lafayette River) all the way to Willoughby Bay and to cover the area on both sides of what is now Hampton Boulevard.⁶ This map gives an interesting picture of the area as it then was. The part which later became the Jamestown Exposition grounds was then actually laid out in blocks, though later considerably altered and modified. The proposed site of the Pine Beach Hotel was shown (labelled "Piney Beach Hotel") at what is now the northwest angle of Virginia Avenue and Gilbert Street. The original course of Seawell's Point Road, here called simply "County Road," was indicated with dotted lines running as has been mentioned above. Maryland Avenue, still so-called within the Naval Base, ran all the way to the bridge by the present Norfolk Yacht and Country Club; it is, of course, now called Hampton Boulevard, but at the time of the Exposition was named Jamestown Boulevard, and at its southern end curved through Larchmont (where it is now known as Jamestown Crescent) to join the extension of Colley Avenue. All the east-west streets (except that on the waterfront, now Dillingham Boulevard) were numbered, the highest—next to the waterfront—being 104th Street, present Admiral Taussig Boulevard was 99th Street, and the only one which today survives under such a numerical designation is 90th Street, the entrance to the Navy Recreation Park. Along Maryland Avenue (Hampton Boulevard) ran the "Norfolk and Atlantic Terminal Electric Rail Road," with a wide turnaround circle at its north end and a spur track to the pier or boat landing at the west end of 99th Street (Admiral Taussig Boulevard); this was the ferry landing for Newport News and was still called, by those of us who remember, the "Pine Beach Ferry" up to the time it was superseded by the Bridge-Tunnel system. The electric car line later became part of the now-defunct Virginia Railway and Power Company system and is said to have had its downtown terminus, at Atlantic Street.

Though not entirely completed until later, the Exposition opened on 26 April 1907. Official maps of that time show that it extended from Mary-

land Avenue on the west to Boush Creek—now filled in—about a half-mile east of present Bainbridge Avenue, and from Willoughby (now Dillingham) Boulevard, which was then the waterfront, to 99th or Algonquin Street (now Admiral Taussig Boulevard). The Exposition Buildings may be roughly divided into three groups: the Exhibits, the State Buildings, and the Amusement Area. The first, arranged around and to the north of the present Fifth Naval District Headquarters Administration Building, contained exhibits of machinery, transportation, manufacturers, mines, liberal arts, education, history, government, and many other things. The second group was composed of buildings erected by twenty-one states, two cities (Richmond and Baltimore), Alaska, Panama, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. They were generally speaking on the waterfront both to the east and west of the Exhibit Group. The third group—the Amusement Area—was known as “The War Path” and was located roughly on both sides of the present Gilbert Street between Bacon Street and Farragut Avenue. It was very much like a carnival midway and included many interesting shows, such as “San Francisco Fire,” “*Merrimac and Monitor*,” “Colonial Virginia,” “Battle of Gettysburg,” “101 Ranch Wild West Show,” “Temple of Mirth,” and “Shooting the Chutes,” just to mention a few. As a child of four and a half at that time, this writer remembers only vaguely many things about the Exposition, but he has a very vivid recollection of the representation of the battle between *Merrimac (Virginia)* and *Monitor*, and the very realistic and frightening artillery fire that accompanied it. The Exposition contained a large frame hotel, the Inside Inn, where the BOQ on the east side of the north end of Maryland Avenue now is; it was so named because it was *inside* the Exposition Grounds, as opposed to the Pine Beach Hotel which was *outside*.

The Jamestown Exposition was not really completed as far as construction went until September, and this was about two months before it closed on 30 November 1907. It may not have been a financial success to its promoters, but it certainly furnished a considerable amount of entertainment for the local people and for out-of-town visitors during its few months of existence. When the exposition was over, many of the buildings were utilized as private residences; many others fell into disrepair owing to non-use, and soon disappeared. As early as 1912, just five years after the Exposition, a movement was underway, sponsored by local interests to have the Government take over the site and remaining buildings for a Naval Base. It was not until another five years had passed—a full decade after the Exposition year—that this movement bore fruit. It is undoubtedly true that the advent of World War I in the meantime did much to speed things up. On 15 June 1917, by Act of Congress the President of the United States was empowered to take possession of the Exposition site, and the Secretary of the Navy was directed to develop it as a Naval Operating Base, including piers, storehouses, oil-fuel storage,

training station and recreation grounds for the fleet, and for other purposes. In implementation of the above Act, by Proclamation dated 28 June 1917, President Woodrow Wilson took possession of the Exposition site and placed it under the exclusive control of the Secretary of the Navy. A map of the site, which accompanied the proclamation, shows how few of the original Exposition buildings remained in 1917. There were only the Auditorium (site of present Administration Building) and its two wings, and the History Building adjacent to the west, together with some of the State buildings on the waterfront. The Pine Beach Hotel was still there, but very little else outside of the State Buildings which are mentioned below.

In less than a year, great progress was made in developing the Base. A map made in April, 1918, shows the new developments in the way of barracks, mess halls, hospital, brigs, warehouses, shops, schools and hangars. Speaking of the latter, it is interesting that a very small area was designated as the "Aero Group," and this was the small germ from which the present Naval Air Station grew. The alphabetical designation of blocks on this map is still in use today. Only one pier (Pier 2) was then in existence, but plans for other piers and a submarine basin are shown, as well as the proposed reclamation of the water area to the north.

The present Naval Base, with all its changes and new developments, is a far cry from the old Exposition Grounds. Nevertheless, it still bears many traces of its former appearance. In the late 1930's, the domed Auditorium and Convention Hall of the Exposition was destroyed by fire. It had served as a theatre and had housed Communications, the Base Post Office, and other miscellaneous activities. Its site is now occupied by the Fifth Naval District Headquarters Administration Building; its two wings, which were connected to the old building by arcades, now exist as separate buildings. Just to the west of this group is the History Building, now a gymnasium, and no other buildings in the Exposition exhibit group survive. Another landmark which recently disappeared was the Pine Beach Hotel. After having served as an Officers' Club, Marine Barracks, and for other purposes, it was dismantled early in World War II to make room for Building 143, the Naval Supply Center. No trace of the amusements on the War Path remains, although near that general area on the east of Maryland Avenue there are pieces of ornamental concrete work, which were probably fountains with flowers planted around them. One of these is just to the east of Gate 2, and another is at the corner of Morris Street. One featured showpiece of the Exposition was the miniature Steam Railroad, which was the joy of all the children who rode on it. Its locomotive was purchased by Colonel Elliott Springs, cotton mill owner, and still gives pleasure to its young passengers, in company with a similar engine built for the Charleston Exposition. These little engines are in Springs Park, a recreation area, near Lancaster, South Carolina.

Of the State Buildings—built by and named for various States—there are several remaining on their original sites and others which have been moved. The best preserved group is that on Dillingham Boulevard in the block west of Farragut Avenue now used as Senior Officers' Quarters; starting at that corner and going west in the following order: Pennsylvania House,* now serving as the Commissioned Officers' Mess, a replica of Independence Hall, and recognizable in spite of additions, remarkable for the architectural detail of its decoration in cornices and paneling; Virginia House, a typical Colonial mansion; Maryland House, a graceful Colonial mansion, said to have been patterned after the home of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence—this building was planned to contain a room modeled after a chamber in the Old State House at Annapolis; Missouri House, another Colonial mansion; Ohio House, a stone house fashioned after "Adena," once this State's executive mansion; Georgia House, a reproduction of Bullock Hall at Roswell, birthplace of the mother of late President Theodore Roosevelt; West Virginia House, a Colonial mansion; and finally Delaware House, the only building in this group to have been moved from another site. Just across Bacon Street, the building now known as Quarters A-39 is labeled on Exposition maps as "Private Residence," and was almost certainly there before 1907. It is on almost the exact location of Mrs. Capps's residence shown on the Map of 1863, but it is not likely that this house was there as early as that. Other State buildings still standing, though not on their original sites are Illinois House on the north side of Powhatan Street, North Carolina House, New Hampshire House and Connecticut House on Dillingham Boulevard east of Farragut Avenue. The Connecticut Building was modeled after the home of Colonel Benjamin Talmadge at Litchfield. All of the State Buildings mentioned above, which had been moved from their original sites, were in the area east of Bainbridge Avenue; in this locality there were many others, including *replicae* of the colonial State Houses of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which were unfortunately not preserved.⁷

One of the most attractive features of the present Naval Base is its abundance of ornamental and shade trees, some planted for the Exposition, and many which have been standing much longer. They give the area a mellowness and charm which is not found in recent planting. Many of the streets are lined with silver maples planted in regular rows; others are bordered less formally with old oaks, elms, pines, and other species. Of regretted memory is the "pine grove" shown on Exposition maps west of the north end of Maryland Avenue; it was part of the original heavy growth which gave the name to Pine Beach (or Piney Beach, its old-fashioned designation).

* This and the following names are the present designations; at the time of the Exposition they were called "Pennsylvania Building," "Virginia Building," etc.

No mention of trees would be complete without reference to the so-called Powhatan Oak, which stood in the area east of Bainbridge Avenue and north of Gilbert Street. The often-repeated story has been given wide circulation that when the Oak became diseased and had to be removed some years



JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION (1907)
THE POWHATAN OAK

ago, human remains were found under its roots. They were tentatively identified as Indian, and were reinterred on the same spot in a common coffin.

Finally, the Parade Ground of the Exposition, "Lee's Parade," is still a parade ground today, though parking lots and tennis courts have encroached on its edges. Beside its flagstaff hangs the ship's bell of the U.S.S. *Virginia*, launched shortly before the Exposition—the date on the bell is 1906. Some of the trees which lined Lee's Parade remain; of particular interest are those few at its two far corners (southeast and southwest), which remind us that those two corners were in reality cut off at 45 degree angles, just as the maps show.

As early as 1953, there was talk of a celebration for the approaching 350th anniversary of the Jamestown settlement in 1957. It was decided that, to do justice to this momentous event, there should be collaboration between the United States Government and the Commonwealth of Virginia. Accordingly, there was established the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission by the Federal Government and the Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission by the Commonwealth. These two Commissions were

charged with determining the nature of the celebration and with planning and coordinating the events of which it would consist. There was organized also the "Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation," which had the responsibility for the physical planning, promotion, construction and



(Courtesy Norfolk Chamber of Commerce)

U.S. NAVAL BASE—NAVAL STATION BELL, FORMER SHIP'S BELL OF THE
U.S.S. VIRGINIA (1906) HANGS ACROSS STREET FROM ENTRANCE
TO THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE FIFTH NAVAL DISTRICT
AND THE NAVAL BASE

business management of the celebration. Thus the "Jamestown Festival, 1607-1957," came into being. It was decided to localize the activities in this connection in an area adjacent to Jamestown Island—a little to the west of it—called "Festival Park."

The park was designed to contain many appropriate exhibits, the two most important of which were the "Old World Heritage Exhibit" and the "New World Achievement Exhibit." The former portrayed events leading up to the planting of the Jamestown colony and the English heritage of Colonial Virginia; it was presented by the British Government at the invitation of the

350th Anniversary Commission. The second represented the early colonial scene and the contribution made by Virginia-born men and women to the development of the New World.

Probably the most novel and interesting features of the Jamestown Festival were full-sized working models of the three small vessels which brought the Colonists to these shores and the reconstruction of the fort which they built for their protection immediately upon their arrival. The observance of the 350th anniversary began on 17 March 1956 with the laying of the keel of *Susan Constant* (100 tons) at Curtis-Dunn Marine Industries Yard in West Norfolk. This was closely followed by *Godspeed* (40 tons) and *Discovery* (20 tons), and all three were launched and christened at the yard on 20 December 1956, the 350th anniversary of their departure from London. Successful trial runs were made in *Susan Constant* beginning on 23 February 1957, the two smaller vessels having been completed and tested prior to that time. The three ships took part—both individually and collectively—in local commemorative exercises in various parts of the Commonwealth, but most of the time were moored at the Festival Park pier in front of James Fort for the inspection of visitors.

James Fort—mentioned above—was a reconstruction of the first protective work undertaken by the Colonists in June, 1607, a month after their arrival at Jamestown. The original site has been eroded by the river and the reconstruction was placed on the river bank in Festival Park just a mile upstream. It was built as described by George Percy, a triangular log palisade with its long side toward the river and semi-circular artillery mounts at each corner; inside were rows of houses paralleling each side of the triangle and the church, guardhouse and storehouse in the center.⁸

During the Jamestown Exposition of 1907, there had been held a Naval Rendezvous in Hampton Roads, with ships representing the then-important naval powers participating: England, France, Germany, Russia, Spain, Japan, and many others. During the 1957 Festival, the period from 8 to 17 June was set aside for an International Naval Review on a much grander scale than the rendezvous of 1907. It was particularly appropriate to hold this review in Hampton Roads since Norfolk is headquarters for both the Atlantic Fleet and Supreme Allied Command Atlantic, and many of the nations invited to send representative vessels to the Review were members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Among the United States Navy vessels participating were six carriers, two battleships, five heavy cruisers and twenty destroyers. Of twenty-seven foreign navies invited, seventeen sent representatives. The majority of them—eleven—were North Atlantic nations: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, England, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey; while the remainder—six—came from our good neighbors to the south: Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The combined fleet was moored in double line on both sides of Thimble Shoal channel and reached from Old Point Comfort to Lynnhaven Roads. It was a truly impressive sight to witness from a point of vantage on the shore at Willoughby Beach, the ships full-dressed with multi-colored flags during daylight hours, and some of them outlined in lights at night. The review proper took place on 12 June 1957, and the honor went to the guided-missile cruiser U.S.S. *Canberra* with the reviewing party embarked: the latter was led by Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson as representative of the President, Commander-in-Chief Atlantic Fleet and Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic Admiral Jerauld Wright, and Commander Second Fleet Vice Admiral Charles Wellborn, Jr., director of the review. *Canberra*, followed by U.S.S. *Boston* and *Northampton*, steamed to seaward to the accompaniment of many gun salutes, and passed through the double line of vessels to its farthest point, then reversed course and returned to Hampton Roads; the whole operation consumed several hours. It was estimated that nearly two thousand small pleasure craft maneuvered on the fringe of the review, and with a minimum of mishaps (none of them serious), thanks to the excellent traffic planning and direction of the personnel and vessels of the Fifth United States Coast Guard District.⁹

L'ENVOI

This, Friend Reader, is the History of Lower Tidewater Virginia. If your favorite person, subject, group or institution has been slighted, we have no apology: just remember this is a cross-section of the life—past and present—of an extensive area. We have strived for accuracy above all things, a commodity sometimes scarce in historical writings. In this “do-it-yourself” age in which we live, it is almost literally true that every man and woman is his or her own historian. All they need is some favorite ancestor, community, church or other organization whose antiquity, priority or other superlative they wish to prove, and it matters not an *iota* that they have no training in or familiarity with the techniques and tools of research. As a result our newspapers and magazines are flooded with the greatest mass of historical misinformation of all time.

In all truth it must be confessed that I am not without prejudice myself—no human being is. I love this little corner of the world in which I was born; I have traveled far afield but I am always glad to come back to it. From the front porch of the house where I spent many of my early years, I can see parts of most of the area whose history is contained in these pages: to the east, Cape Henry and Little Creek in Princess Anne; to the west, Old Point Comfort, Newport News and Hampton; if I climbed to the roof (which I used to do when I was younger!) I could see the mouth of the Nansemond River and the distant shore of Isle of Wight; I can even see, in mind's eye, the

reaches of Southampton, because I know it is there. There are few corners of this area with which I am not familiar: the beaches of Princess Anne, the swamps of Norfolk, the hallowed historic places of Elizabeth City, Warwick, and Isle of Wight, the roads and beauty spots of Nansemond and Southampton—all have a place in my heart.

So, Reader, I am not without prejudice and I make no apology for it. I only hope that you, too—be you native or visitor—will some day look more closely at Lower Tidewater Virginia.

R. D. W.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XXXII

N.B. See remark at beginning of Chapter I notes.

1. Unless otherwise specifically noted, sources for statements in this chapter may be found by referring to previous chapters under the appropriate heading.
2. R. A. Stewart, *Virginia's Navy of the Revolution*, pp. 144-8.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-9.
4. Yonge, *Site of Old James Towne*, pp. 58, 63-4, 68-9.
5. Frank Blackwell in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 13 October, 1957.
6. *Norfolk County Records*, Map Book 5, p. 66; the development was entitled "Norfolk on the Roads."
7. Copies of the Exposition and early Naval Base maps and Presidential Proclamation are contained in the archives of the U. S. Navy's District Public Works Office. They were made available through the kindness of the late Jacob C. Pugh, special assistant to the District Public Works Officer, and of Mr. William A. W. Cramer, present chief of the Drafting and Design Division in the same activity. This writer had the privilege of knowing the late Mr. Pugh over a period of many years, especially during a tour of duty at Fifth Naval District Headquarters (1951-3). At the time of his death he was the oldest living civilian employee in point of service (though then recently retired) and had been at the Naval Base almost from its very beginning. Mr. Cramer, like this writer, well remembers the Exposition of 1907, and has moreover been officially connected with the Naval Base for about twenty-five years. The writer is also indebted to *Postscripts, Jamestown Exposition, 1957*, a booklet compiled by Miss Nancy Dickinson and Mrs. Grace Deans, respectively librarian and assistant at the Naval Station Library.
8. Information on the Jamestown Festival of 1957 comes chiefly from its Official Program, printed in Richmond by Whittet and Shepperson. See also Clarence Lane in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 2 March and 21 December 1956, and Perry Breon, *Ibid.*, 24 February 1957.
9. Richard M. Mansfield in *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, 7 April 1957, and James Elliott, *Ibid.*, 13 June 1957; U. S. Naval Station *Seabag*, 13 June 1957.

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BAE, B	Bureau of American Ethnology, <i>Bulletin</i>
C	<i>Calendar of Virginia State Papers</i>
DAB	<i>Dictionary of American Biography</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
G	<i>Georgia Historical Quarterly</i>
H	Hening, <i>Statutes at Large</i>
HAI	<i>Handbook of American Indians</i>
N	<i>Lower Norfolk County Antiquary</i>
NED	<i>Oxford New English Dictionary</i>
V	<i>Virginia Magazine of History and Biography</i>
W (1)	<i>William and Mary Quarterly</i> (First Series)
W (2)	<i>William and Mary Quarterly</i> (Second Series)
W (3)	<i>William and Mary Quarterly</i> (Third Series)

The usage of Swem's *Virginia Historical Index* is followed by giving volume number before the symbol and page numbers after. For example, 16W(2)227-261 means "William and Mary Quarterly (Second Series), Volume XVI, pages 227-261."

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